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FIG. 1—Pisa, Campo Santo: *Detail of the Virgin of the Annunciation on Tomb of the Gherardesca Family, by Lupo di Francesco*

OBSERVATIONS ON SIENESE AND PISAN TRECENTO SCULPTURE

By W. R. VALENTINER

SIENA, the home of some of the greatest of the trecento sculptors, is curiously poor in typically Sieneese sculpture of that period, although so rich in contemporary paintings. Aside from the Pedroni tomb in the cathedral—of which a good view is hardly obtainable—all of Tino di Camaino's important monuments are to be found outside of Siena: in Pisa, in Florence, and in Naples. The great master of the façade sculptures of the cathedral of Orvieto worked almost exclusively in that city and in Perugia. Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura, artists justly lauded by Vasari, accomplished their most important work in Arezzo, Pistoja, Volterra, and Florence. Gano's two splendid tombs are housed in the church of Casole, and Goro di Gregorio's delightful creations are hidden in the cathedrals of Massa Maritima and Messina.

To be sure, the façade of Siena cathedral is rich in trecento statues, but these show no typically Sieneese characteristics; they are completely in the tradition imposed from the first by the vehement personality of Giovanni Pisano. It was probably due to the influence of this powerful personality that the best of the Sieneese sculptors transferred their activities to other towns. A document dated 1285 testifies to the energetic fashion in which Giovanni Pisano insisted on his rights: when Ramo di Paganello, one of the city's most famous artists, was appointed to work on the cathedral, it was expressly stipulated that his activities as a sculptor should not interfere in any way with those of the cathedral architect (Giovanni Pisano) but must, on the contrary, be subservient to his wishes. Behind this stipulation one readily recognizes the autocratic spirit of the great Pisan, who would permit no independence among his associates.

Crescentio di Camaino, who succeeded Giovanni as architect until the year 1337, carried on in all respects the ideas of his predecessor. Of this the façade sculptures belonging to Crescentio's period furnish good proof: they bear the closest resemblance to Giovanni's own work, and Crescentio saw to it that his son Tino received the same schooling, placing him with Giovanni as a pupil. In his early work Tino is so reminiscent of Giovanni that the sculpture of the two artists has been long confused. In fact, the spirit of Giovanni Pisano dominated the cathedral façade until the seventies, when Giovanni Cecco carved the row of half-length figures of the apostles and the Madonna Enthroned above the rose window (now in the cathedral museum), and substituted for the inward fire of Giovanni a forced and morose expression.

The new portion of the unfinished cathedral developed in different fashion. The tender and sensitive Sieneese spirit permeated its architecture and sculpture from the start. Lando di Pietro, its first architect, and Lorenzo Maitani, the gifted architect of Orvieto cathedral, who exercised a certain influence, were possessed of a far finer architectural sense than Giovanni Pisano, whose dislocated style had shattered all continuity of line and all unity in the relief planes. The clear, slender, soaring lines of the newer building, its

delicate proportions, the effect of its unornamented planes and the inspired arrangement of the ornamented surfaces, were adapted to a different type of figure sculpture, and it is therefore not surprising that a sculptor like Giovanni di Agostino, the product of a truly Sienese workshop, widely removed from the style of Giovanni Pisano, should have come to the fore. He is the only Sienese trecento sculptor who is worthily represented in his native city. Unfortunately, his work is not on the same high level as that of the masters of the previous generation, in the first thirty years of the century. The sculptures that he carried out for the new cathedral rank, however, with his best achievements.

The great Sienese masters were no longer available for Siena; she had ceded all rights and privileges to Giovanni Pisano and his imitators. The further the native masters were removed from the sphere of Giovanni Pisano's influence, the more independent, and consequently the more intrinsically Sienese, they became. This is particularly true as regards Tino di Camaino, whose art unfolded to its richest development in his late works in Naples, and also as regards the master of the Orvieto façade sculptures, Nicola di Nuto.

(1) NICOLA DI NUTO

The marble statue of St. Francis in the right-hand aisle of S. Francesco in Siena (Fig. 11) has without good grounds been associated with Ramo di Paganello.¹ It is, to my mind, a characteristic work of Nicola di Nuto, sculptor of the Orvieto façade. All its characteristics point clearly to this gifted master, who so remarkably combined in these façade sculptures a spiritual and even mystic conception with pregnant draughtsmanship and close observation of nature.² Witness the long oval of the head, the lower portion slightly protruding, the lofty forehead, the curiously stylized beard and whiskers, the delicate swinging rhythm of the draperies, the elegant and sharply drawn hands and feet, the tender and inspired expression of the whole figure, as well as the naturalistic details, such as the structure of the saint's girdle, the book, the veins of his hands.

1. In the *Catalogue of the Sienese Exhibition*, 1904, and in the *Cicerone*; against this attribution, F. Mason Perkins in *Guide to Siena* by W. Heywood and L. Olcott, 1924, p. 355.

2. Although in regard to the attribution of the sculptures the meritorious Leipzig scholar, A. Schmarsow, in a recently published essay (*Das Fassaden Problem am Dom von Orvieto*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1926, no. 3), arrives at other results, I have not felt it necessary to alter my earlier conclusions, which were written a year before (July, 1925).

Schmarsow points out correctly that the earliest façade plan to be preserved is reminiscent of Notre-Dame of Paris, particularly the north and south portals, and claims that the French influence may be plainly discerned in the façade reliefs also. I cannot agree with him, however, when he names Ramo di Paganello as the originator of this plan, claiming further that he was the principal master of the façade reliefs. For some time Ramo lived "beyond the mountains"—not unusual, probably, for contemporary Italian sculptors—but he is mentioned as a sculptor only and not as an architect, and, above all, the Orvieto records make only a single mention of him—in 1293. How Schmarsow justifies the statement that "when Lorenzo Maitani was called to Orvieto in 1310 he appointed the

master Ramo to head the sculptors' workshop" is far from clear to me, as there is no word of Ramo in the records of 1310, and it is a rather daring assumption that seventeen years after the only mention of him in the records Ramo still maintained his position, when in the meantime there had been two or three changes in the leading architect and we have not even the assurance that he was still alive.

Schmarsow again oversteps the mark in declaring that the wooden figure of a female saint in the cathedral museum must be by Ramo, copied from a well-known ivory Madonna in Paris and later taken by him to Italy. In the first place, I see no reason for assuming that this figure is by the master of the façade reliefs, and further it is not unique in its derivation from a French ivory, for these figures were by no means unknown in Italy, and it could have been copied there.

As imitations of French sculptures I would point, for example, to the marble figures of the Annunciation in the Baptistery of Carrara, which have been called French; to the marble statue of the Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, which is catalogued as "possibly Flemish" although it comes from Pisa; and to the wooden Christ Enthroned mentioned below, in the cathedral museum at Orvieto.

Ramo di Paganello was at least one generation earlier than Nicola di Nuto and there is no mention of him in documents dating from the period of the Orvieto façade sculptures. He is first mentioned in a document of the year 1281 (Nov. 20), in which a proposition to reinstate him as citizen is laid before the magistrate in order that he may work on the cathedral. He had lost his citizenship because of the seduction of a woman and lived in exile "over the mountains," but was considered by the Sienese to be one of the greatest of living sculptors ("*de bonis intalliatoribus et sculptoribus de mundo qui inveniri possit*").³ If we assume him to have been at least twenty-five years old at this time, he must have been born about 1255, which would make him about ten years younger than Giovanni Pisano, who, as he was working on the pulpit in Siena with his father in 1265, was presumably born about 1245. Ramo di Paganello worked on the cathedral at Siena in collaboration with Giovanni from 1288 on. In the document dealing with this arrangement the magistrate charges the master, then newly restored to honor, together with his brothers and nephews, to execute fine and beautiful work "for the cathedral along the lines laid down by" the architect, Giovanni Pisano. This seems to indicate that Giovanni had taken over Ramo di Paganello's workshop in Siena, which probably was counted the best in the city. Giovanni's activities in connection with the cathedral continued at least until 1295.

That Ramo di Paganello preserved his high reputation as a sculptor despite his subordination to Giovanni Pisano is proved by another document, which speaks of him as employed in connection with the cathedral of Orvieto in 1293.⁴ To judge by all accounts his position must have been one of great importance because he received ten soldi a day, while Giovanni Pisano, for instance, in Siena, in the year 1299, received only eight soldi and three denari, and Nicola di Nuto, in 1325, when he already played a leading rôle as sculptor, received nine soldi a day, and in 1345, as leading cathedral architect, twelve soldi.⁵

If we wish to form a conception of Ramo di Paganello's work we must look for him among those artists closely related to Giovanni Pisano who worked in his style on the Sienese cathedral. It goes without saying that there are many striking sculptures of this type on the cathedral façade, but it has not yet been possible to distinguish another distinct personality among the circle of Giovanni's collaborators.

To A. Venturi belongs the credit of pointing to Nicola di Nuto as one of the principal artists of the Orvieto façade reliefs and also of establishing the relationship that exists between these and the two wooden crucifixes attributed to Nicola di Nuto in the sacristy of the cathedral. In my opinion, however, Venturi does not go far enough when he believes that Nicola di Nuto executed only partly these reliefs and that the architect Lorenzo Maitani is after all responsible for their style as well as for their compositions, as was stated earlier by the *Cicerone* and quite recently again by F. Volbach.⁶

If the characteristics of the façade sculptures indicate Maitani, how does it happen that the wooden crucifixes, carved by Nicola di Nuto in 1339, nine years after Maitani's death, show exactly these same characteristics, and in another material at that? No one would be willing to affirm that these wood carvings are the work of a pupil. On the contrary,

3. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, I, 1854.

4. L. Fumi, *Il duomo di Orvieto*, 1891, p. 97.

5. Venturi considers it possible that Ramo is identical with the Ramulus de Senis who is mentioned in Naples in

1314 in connection with the construction of the Palazzo of Bartolomeo da Capua. This possibility is disputed elsewhere.

6. *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, 1925.

they rank artistically with the stone reliefs, and indicate the same artist, one who was unique in the history of contemporary sculpture and can readily be recognized by his slender, swaying figures, rhythmical draperies, tender, devout, weary expression of eyes, and wonderful precision of execution.

It is impossible, in my opinion, to distinguish the work of different hands in the façade sculptures, although one must admit that in the third row the types are somewhat heavier and the execution weaker than elsewhere. The unity of style is so complete that one must assume these sculptures to be essentially the work of one gifted master in progressive phases of development. This master, however, is the sculptor Nicola di Nuto, rather than the architect Maitani. Venturi himself falls into contradiction in trying to distinguish different hands. He quite rightly attributes the marble statue of the Madonna in the cathedral museum (Figs. 5 and 7) to Nicola di Nuto, presumably on the basis of the first row of reliefs, which he attributes in great part to this artist. The Madonna, however, is particularly close in type to the female figures of the third row, for instance with the Madonna in the Adoration of the Kings and The Flight into Egypt (Figs. 2 and 3). Venturi attributes this series of reliefs to Florentine collaborators, particularly Francesco Talenti,⁷ who, he believes, acquainted Nicola di Nuto with compositional motives used by Andrea Pisano.

So far as Maitani's collaboration is concerned it must have been limited to an indication of the outlines of the compositions on the architectural plans, as we find them indicated on the first of the two extant plans for the façade (which Fumi, without documentary reasons, attributes to Arnolfo di Cambio and which may very well be a first formulation of Maitani's ideas). It is true that Nicola di Nuto and his workshop were under Maitani's direction, but Nicola's high salary⁸ makes it highly probable that in carrying out Maitani's plans he had complete freedom in so far as the sculpture was concerned, especially as Maitani was frequently absent from Orvieto. For Maitani himself to have made models for these reliefs, as Venturi conjectures, would, according to our information, have been most unusual at this early period.

It is also difficult to believe that the artist who carried out this work, and whose every chisel stroke proved him a master and an outstanding personality, could have so subordinated this personality to Maitani's as to reproduce the latter's style down to the least detail without allowing any trace of his own temperament to creep through. Such a complete subordination of personality seems to me incredible even for the Middle Ages. A more probable assumption is that one artist produced the reliefs, the scope of which is after all not so extraordinary but that he could have compassed it alone, at least in so far as the figures are concerned, during the course of a decade. There was enough work in the ornamental portions of the façade to occupy those more obscure and more poorly paid colleagues mentioned in contemporary documents.

7. Vollbach (*op. cit.*, p. 156) goes even further, designating them as distinctly "Florentine." In this case the marble statue in the cathedral museum, which is obviously by the same hand, would also have to be Florentine. It is, on the contrary, typically Siennese. Both scholars overlooked the fact that the Orvieto façade reliefs antedate the Florentine baptistery doors by Andrea Pisano, whose activities started only in 1329, when the Orvieto reliefs were already completed. We have no knowledge of a Florentine work-

shop of Andrea Pisano's prior to his work on the baptistery—in fact, it is most likely that he did not stay at Florence before this time and was called from outside (Pisa?) to do the work; besides, one can hardly talk of a "Florentine style" in trecento sculpture at this period.

8. As early as 1325 Nicola di Nuto received the next highest emolument to that of the architect (nine soldi) and is named first in the accounts, while the other sculptors received only two to six soldi *per diem*.



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

Orvieto, Cathedral Façade: Reliefs of the Flight into Egypt and the Epiphany, by Nicola di Nuto



FIG. 4—Siena, *Opera del Duomo*:
Detail of Wooden Crucifix, by
Nicola di Nuto (?)



FIG. 5—Orvieto, *Opera del Duomo*: Marble Statuette of the Madonna, by Nicola di Nuto



FIG. 6—Orvieto, Cathedral Portal: Enthroned Madonna, by Nicola di Nuto



FIG. 7—Orvieto, *Opera del Duomo*: Marble Statuette of the Madonna, by Nicola di Nuto



FIG. 8—Siena, Oratorio della Notte:
Marble Statue of the Madonna, by a
Follower of Nicola di Nuto



FIG. 9
Duisburg (Germany), Property of Mr. F. Thyssen: Polychrome
Statue in Wood, by Nicola di Nuto



FIG. 10
Duisburg (Germany), Property of Mr. F. Thyssen: Polychrome
Statue in Wood, by Nicola di Nuto



FIG. 11—Siena, S. Francesco:
Marble Statue of St. Francis, by
Nicola di Nuto

Lorenzo Maitani, although we possess considerable documentary evidence concerning him, is nowhere specifically mentioned as a sculptor. Moreover, during the decade 1320 to 1330, when the façade sculptures were executed, he was so extraordinarily occupied with architectural commissions that one may question his having time to execute these works. In 1319 the city of Perugia sent ambassadors to Orvieto to invite Maitani's aid in repairing its water system, and in the three following years new aqueducts were constructed there under his direction. He was also claimed by the Perugians in connection with the defences of the city. He repaired the gates of S. Susanna and S. Angelo and the fortress of Castiglione and rebuilt the Castello della Pieve. Called back to Orvieto, he appears shortly thereafter to have been occupied in Todi, where the beautiful gate of S. Fortunato was possibly executed from his plans. In 1322 Maitani was invited by the Sienese to advise with them concerning the new cathedral—a commission which must have necessitated a fairly lengthy stay in that city. The citizens of Orvieto, probably fearing to lose their architect, then raised his stipend, made him city architect, and did everything during the next few years to keep him busy in Orvieto. The fountain in the Piazza was rebuilt, the Palazzo Comunale was enlarged, and under Maitani's direction the city defences and gates were in part repaired and in part rebuilt. Moreover, what was there not to do in the cathedral itself? First of all, the choir, which was already begun, had to be strengthened by arches, and the whole plan—particularly the façade—had to be revised. In addition to this, the construction work had to be newly organized. There was the troublesome production of the different kinds of marble, which were quarried in almost a dozen different places in the neighborhood of Siena, Carrara, and Rome, under the supervision of Maitani's assistants, and there loaded onto ox wagons for delivery; there was the installation of a mosaic and glass factory and of a bronze foundry; and, finally, there was the direction of the workshops of the marble sculptors and wood carvers. When we read of all these details in the contemporary documents we are not surprised that the façade reliefs should have been carried out by the second most famous master, who was to become Maitani's successor.

The fund of information about Nicola di Nuto is comparatively rich. At the same time it is difficult to connect the details with any of his extant works. There is no documentary proof that the two wooden crucifixes in the cathedral sacristy, which Venturi claims to be his work, are actually by him. If we examine the records closely, we find that work was done on the choir stalls from 1334 on, and that most of the half-length figures of saints and prophets on the upper part of these stalls were executed in the year 1339.⁹ Jacopo di Lotto, Ambroscino di Meo, and Nicola di Nuto shared this work. Nicola di Nuto carved, among other figures, those of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Augustin, receiving three lire, fifteen soldi for each figure, as did his colleagues. Similar payments for single figures, not always more specifically identified, were made to him on April 26, August 14, August 26, and December 19, 1339. From the sense of the text it seems very probable that the first payment, on April 26, to which Venturi refers, was also for one of these half-length figures in the choir stalls and not for one of the crucifixes in the sacristy, which are nowhere mentioned in the records.

However, we may assume that these crucifixes were executed soon after the completion of the choir stalls, and as we gather from the documentary evidence that Nicola di Nuto

9. L. Fumi, *op. cit.*, pp. 288 ff.

took a particular pleasure in carving figures in wood (otherwise, as cathedral architect, he would never have occupied himself so much with the carving of the choir stalls), it is entirely possible that he also reserved for his own execution such important pieces as the crucifixes and the powerful seated figure of Christ Blessing, which, as the most important of the choir statues, is now preserved in the cathedral museum. Next to Nicola di Nuto, the sculptor and wood carver most frequently mentioned in the records is Jacopo di Lotto, who worked under Nicola from 1325, when, to judge from his low salary, he was still quite youthful. In 1334 and afterwards, however, he received the same high fee for his statues as did Nicola di Nuto. He worked on the choir stalls till 1359 and executed the greater number of the half-length figures.

Equally daring, although quite possibly correct, is Venturi's interpretation of the records regarding Nicola di Nuto's journey to Perugia. There is, as Venturi points out, a close relationship in style between the façade sculptures in Orvieto and the tomb of Benedict XI in S. Domenico in Perugia, although the latter is much more roughly executed; and we may concur with Venturi's attribution of the architectural plan to Maitani and the major portion of the execution to Nicola di Nuto. He connects the documented stay of both these masters in Perugia with the tomb. Maitani from 1319 on spent much time there, but of Nicola di Nuto we learn only that in 1321 (not in 1324, as Venturi says), in the month of September, he went for three days to Perugia in Maitani's service, and on the third day returned with the latter to Orvieto. Some months later an often-mentioned sculptor, Cione di Pietro Hermann, also went from Orvieto to Perugia at Maitani's behest, but we have no word concerning his return. To judge solely by the records, therefore, we have as much ground for connecting him as Nicola di Nuto with the collaboration on the tomb.

This note on Nicola di Nuto's journey is the earliest notice in the Orvieto documents concerning the artist, who is here designated as Magister Niculutio Nuto.¹⁰ After this time mention is made of him more than once in connection with the casting of the bronze angels over the central portal of the cathedral, and after the death of Lorenzo Maitani he became leading architect of the cathedral in association with his brother Meo and Maitani's two sons. He is mentioned in this capacity in 1332, 1334, and 1335, so that we may assume him to have been resident in Orvieto, with only fleeting absences, from the year 1321 onward. It is possible that he maintained his position as leading architect of the cathedral subsequent to 1335, but he is not mentioned again in this capacity until 1347. As Giovanni di Agostino is mentioned as *capomaestro* in 1337, in association with Meo di Nuto and Ambrogino di Meo, it is likely that Nicola spent these ten years elsewhere—possibly in Siena. We find mention of him for the last time in the Orvieto records in November, 1347. With the appointment of Andrea Pisano as cathedral architect at the close of this year, a different stylistic tendency appeared, so we may assume that the activities of Nicola di Nuto then came to an end and that his death probably took place during this year. He may have been born about 1290.

10. It is, however, very probable that the "Nuto da Siena" mentioned together with Tino di Camaino as working at Pisa in January, 1315, is identical with our artist. According to P. Bacci (*Rassegna d'arte*, 1921, p. 73) this Nuto was one of the masters of the "gradule" of the cathedral at Pisa and formerly "famulus" of Giovanni Pisano. While Tino received at this date eight soldi

daily, Nuto da Siena, Lupo di Francesco, and a few others received five and a half soldi. As we noticed, ten years later at Orvieto Nicola di Nuto received nine soldi daily. Also the connection with Giovanni Pisano as well as with Tino di Camaino is in no way contradictory to this identification, since the character and development of the art of Nicola di Nuto point clearly in this direction.



FIG. 12—Arezzo, *S. Domenico*: Tomb of Ranieri degli Ubertini, Bishop of Volterra, by Agostino and Agnolo di Siena



FIG. 13—Florence, *S. Maria Novella*: Tomb of Fra Corrado della Penna, Bishop of Fiesole, by Agostino and Agnolo di Siena



FIG. 14—Florence, *S. Maria Novella*: Tomb of Bishop Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, by Agostino and Agnolo di Siena (?)



FIG. 15—Siena, Academy: *Scenes from the Life of S. Filippo Benizzi*, by Agostino and Agnolo di Siena



FIG. 16—Siena, New Cathedral Façade: *Marble Relief of Christ Blessing*, by Giovanni di Agostino

In addition to the two crucifixes and the splendid Christ Blessing, we have an excellent illustration of Nicola di Nuto's art as a wood carver in a standing Madonna (Figs. 9 and 10) which some time ago came from private Sieneese ownership into the possession of Mr. F. Thyssen, Duisburg, Germany. The delicate, floating rhythm of the body and the garments, the tender, lyric mood, the explicit type of the Madonna's head, with its low, prominent forehead, the connection of nose and forehead by one straight line, the narrow half-closed eyes, short chin, and small, full mouth all plainly point to the same hand that carved the marble statue in the cathedral museum (Figs. 5 and 7) and the Madonna Enthroned of the cathedral portal (Fig. 6).

While this Madonna must have been executed during the third or fourth decade of the fourteenth century, the wooden crucifix in the cathedral museum of Siena (Fig. 4) is probably two decades earlier. The museum label ascribes it to a pupil of Nicola Pisano, but G. de Nicola has, with more foundation, published it as a work by a Sieneese follower of Giovanni Pisano, and L. Dami¹¹ also connects it with this master. The relationship to the master of the Orvieto sculptures is, however, as obvious in the composition as in the type and in the delicate technique. The profile reminds us of the Madonna in the cathedral museum, and where the pose of the figure is concerned the two crucifixions in the façade reliefs offer many points of comparison. In each case we are struck by the remarkably naturalistic presentation of the tree cross, with its high-hung inscription tablet. On the other hand, the contraposition of the head and the knees of the crucified body betrays the influence of Giovanni Pisano. If this is really—as I should like to assume—an early work by Nicola di Nuto, it is interesting to note how early he emancipated himself from Giovanni Pisano's influence, for there is little trace of it left in the Orvieto reliefs.

Still another, but considerably later, work in the style of Nicola di Nuto is to be found in Siena and shows the influence that his art exerted there. This stands in the Oratorio della Notte in a most inaccessible position. It is a marble statue of the Madonna (Fig. 8), of which only the upper portion, profusely hung with votive offerings, is visible in its artificially lighted niche. With some difficulty I obtained a photograph of this hitherto unpublished statue, the tender lines of which demonstrate most pleasingly the style of our master's admirable art.

(2) AGOSTINO DI GIOVANNI AND GIOVANNI DI AGOSTINO

Venturi tentatively attributes to Gano, the sculptor of the Casole monuments, the skilfully executed triple marble panel with the legend of S. Filippo Benizzi in the Academy of Siena (Fig. 15). As he himself was the first to classify rightly the principal works of the famous workshop of Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura, it is curious that he should have overlooked the relationship of this panel to the style of these masters,¹² to whom it may unquestionably be attributed. The preference for a rigidly stylized outline, for a triangular arrangement of the garments and of the whole figure, for a loose composition, with much empty space, together with the incomparable dexterity of the chiseling, which we do not find in any other master of this period, are characteristic signs of the workshop that executed the tomb of Cino di Sinibaldi in Pistoja and the Tarlati monument in Arezzo. From this relief one can form a very good idea of how the mutilated panels of

11. Nicola in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1913; Dami in *Dedalo*, 1923.

12. I consider Volbach's characterization of these

masters (*op. cit.*, p. 152) erroneous. Compare my essay in *Art in America*, December, 1924.

the Tarlati monument must have looked. We have here the same Giottesque brevity of story, the same simplified forms, creating a monumental effect, even with small figures, the deeply carved draperies, the precise drawing and sharp outlines, and the same fine profiling of the framework. The saint at prayer on the stairway of the tower in the first relief is portrayed in a most convincing manner, the collapse of the unfortunate in the middle panel, with the overturned table and all its appurtenances, is daringly delineated, but particularly striking is the freedom of representation in the third panel, of the saint, in a complicated attitude, swooning beside the altar. We would have to go back to earlier mediaeval sculpture to find an equally sure and accurate presentation.

Another work by these same masters, and executed in the same blue-veined gray marble, stands almost unnoticed in S. Domenico in Arezzo (Fig. 12), the town where for years they worked. This is the tomb of the Bishop of Volterra, Ranieri degli Ubertini. The high arch, supported by two pillars between which originally there may have been a niche with a fresco or a statue of the Madonna, suggests these masters in fineness of outline and severity of drawing, and it is not difficult to recognize their technique in the precise and skilfully stylized form of the recumbent bishop and the Benedictine monks at his head and feet. Especially in the draperies we see the well-known triangular forms alternating with flowing curves. The careful and well-preserved coloring of certain portions of the bishop's garments, the cushion, and the cloaks of the Benedictines lend a peculiarly appealing effect to this admirable work. One cannot but marvel anew at the daring of the chisel strokes, especially noticeable in the treatment of the head—a broad treatment of the marble which, juxtaposing planes cornerwise, abjures any softening of the surface planes. This small tomb ranks with the best examples of trecento sculpture.

These two famous Sienese masters also practiced their art in Florence about the time that Tino di Camaino was working there on the baptistery, the cathedral, and in S. Croce. The tomb of the bishop of Fiesole, Fra Corrado della Penna (†1313), in S. Maria Novella, is one of their characteristic early works (Fig. 13), as witness the geometrically conceived contours of the bishop's face with its typically sharp aquiline nose. It seems to me, moreover, not unlikely that the tomb of Aldobrandino Cavalcanti (Fig. 14) is not, as is generally assumed, by Nino Pisano, who executed the Madonna statue in the niche, but rather by these older artists. As Cavalcanti died in 1279, there can be no objection to an earlier date for the monument than that of Nino Pisano's work. The stiff, straight outlines of the clothing of the bishop and monks differ from the rounded and flowing curves of Nino's Madonna, and are very reminiscent of the sculptures of the two Sienese. The tendency to let the figure and especially the nimbus intrench upon the framework is also characteristic of them. There are close resemblances in the delineation of the monks' cowls to some details in the relief of the arca of St. Octavian, in Volterra; and the geometrically stylized garment of the recumbent bishop, the drawing of the head, and even the painting of the figure are in accord with the Ubertini tomb, in Arezzo. However, since the Cavalcanti tomb is placed high and in poor light, it is hard to say definitely, especially as Nino was much influenced by these two masters. Divergences in style between the two tombs in Florence and that in Arezzo may be attributed to the different technique of the reliefs. In the former the figures are sunk into the framework, in the latter, raised above it.

The importance of the activities of Sienese sculptors in Florence in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century is proven by the fact that in S. Croce are two more



FIG. 17—Siena, New Cathedral Façade: Marble Relief of the
Madonna, by Giovanni di Agostino



FIG. 18—Rome, Private Ownership: Upper Part of Marble
Statue of the Madonna, by Giovanni di Agostino



FIG. 19—Orvieto, Opera del Duomo:
Marble Statuette of the Madonna, by
Giovanni di Agostino



FIG. 20—Volterra, Façade of Archbishop's Palace: Tabernacle, by Giovanni di Agostino

prominent tombs of Sienese origin, those of the Bardi, in the left transept of the church. Although a critical examination of the principal figures on the gables of these tombs is impossible owing to their height and the lack of photographic reproductions, the statuettes of the prophets beneath the sarcophagus, with their curiously stylized heads and geometrically arranged garments, and the floral ornaments point to the Sienese workshop of Agostino and Agnolo.

As in most of the tombs executed by this workshop, emphasis is here laid on the remarkable architectural framework, with its carefully designed outline, to which the figures are quite subordinated. In contrast to Giovanni Pisano, these two masters, who were both noted architects, showed their greatest strength in the structural plan of their sculptures, and in so far as feasible they subordinated human forms to the main outlines of the framework. Their compositions may be compared with those of Ambrogio Lorenzetti in this preoccupation with a strict and regulated structure, while an analogy for Tino di Camaino's tendencies may, in the realm of painting, be found in the work of Simone Martini.

That Venturi was right in his assumption that Agostino and Agnolo di Siena were active in Volterra is proven by a hitherto unnoticed product of their workshop in that town, the tabernacle over the door of the archbishop's palace (Fig. 20). It is the work of the weaker Giovanni di Agostino, the son of Agostino di Giovanni, who, frankly in consequence of his father's preëminent achievement, seems to have attained early a considerable fame. The relationship of the types, particularly of the angels, with those of the little Madonna tabernacle in S. Bernardino, Siena, is very marked. We find too the thistle-leaf ornamentation, of which these masters made such frequent use, and the continuous quatrefoil (as in the tomb of Bettino dei Bardi in S. Croce), and, finally, the figure of Christ Blessing compares well with that in the delightful relief in the façade of the new cathedral (Fig. 16). This relief, with its companion piece, the half-length figure of the Madonna (Fig. 17), belongs to the best achievement of this very unequal master. The charming outlines and finely drawn wings of the *putti* on either side of the figure of Christ foreshadow the work of the quattrocento Florentine sculptors. There are in existence stucco reproductions of the half-length figure of the Madonna (one in the hands of a Florentine art dealer), and a full-length marble figure of the Madonna strikingly similar in composition appeared some time ago in the hands of a dealer in Rome (Fig. 18).

Giovanni di Agostino is known to have been one of the architects of the new cathedral in Siena. It was during his regime that the justifiable question as to the strength of the partly completed structure arose, and his successor was compelled to advise against the continuation of the building so magnificently planned but so insecurely carried out. When scarcely thirty years old Giovanni was invited to become the architect at Orvieto (1337) but his efforts here too seem to have been crowned with small success as he very soon disappeared from the scene. It is significant that his father accompanied him to Orvieto but soon returned to Siena, and presumably the son could not successfully dispense with the paternal advice. His sculptures amply prove his dependence on his father, for his capacities diminished with his removal from this influence. There are, I believe, two examples of his activities in Orvieto, both in the cathedral museum, a Madonna Enthroned (Fig. 19) and an allegorical figure of Strength, which is remarkable as one of the few unfinished trecento marble statues preserved. It is not difficult to recognize Giovanni's hand in the softly massed draperies flowing in fourfold curves and curiously piled together, in the arms, which look as if they had been glued on, and in the slack wrists.

(3) TINO DI CAMAINO¹³

When Emperor Henry VII died at Buonconvento on August 24, 1313, his body, in accordance with his last will and testament, was preserved in the castle of Suvereto until a fitting tomb could be erected in the cathedral of Pisa. If more than a year elapsed before the citizens of Pisa set themselves to carry out his wish, the blame must be laid to the unsettled political situation.¹⁴ The Ghibelline city found itself without a ruler and dangerously menaced by the emperor's enemies. In vain the Pisans offered the lordship of their city in turn to the king of Sicily, the duke of Savoy, and the count of Flanders. Finally, they determined to raise an army of German and Flemish mercenaries, and invited the imperial stadtholder of Genoa, the famous Uguccone della Faggiola, to take command. To solidify his position the latter immediately started to make war against Lucca, Pisa's powerful and ambitious rival, with so much energy and success that this town fell into the hands of the Pisans in 1314, and Francesco, Uguccone's son, became ruler of Lucca. The amount of the Pisan's spoil was extraordinary. Not only did the papal treasure, reputed to be worth a million golden gulden, which Clement V had deposited a few years previously in S. Frediano in Lucca, fall into their hands, but Uguccone managed to extend his power to Pistoja, San Miniato al Tedesco and Volterra, and thereby extend the Ghibelline rule from Genoa to territories not very far from Florence.

It was then that the Pisans remembered their pledge to erect a tomb for the emperor, and the commission was given to Tino di Camaino on the twelfth of February, 1315. The completion of the work within the short span of six months (on July 26)¹⁵ was obviously necessitated by the fact that the dedication was not to be delayed later than the second anniversary of the emperor's death, August 24, 1315. The transfer of the remains from Suvereto and the dedication of the tomb took place, it is recorded, with the utmost pomp.

This tomb, created by the great Sienese master, must have been extraordinarily effective in its original position in the cathedral choir. The delicate sentiment Tino lent his figures, the unity of style of the statues, and the decorative shimmer of many colorful details all contributed to this effectiveness.

The sarcophagus, bearing the wonderfully expressive recumbent form of the emperor (Fig. 21) and adorned by a relief of the apostles, rested on four consoles.¹⁶ Above it, beneath a baldachin, was the group of the seated emperor flanked by his four councillors (Fig. 22). The artist must have thoroughly familiarized himself with these Teutonic types during the emperor's five months' sojourn in Pisa, for they are admirably characterized. As these figures were placed at a considerable height, and could not be more clearly distinguished under the baldachin than similarly placed figures in Tino's Neapolitan tombs, they are purposely not executed in detail, but with an extraordinary sureness of chiseling and in a block-like treatment that is individual to this master.

13. This section supplements my essay on this artist published in *Art in America*, October, 1923.

14. R. Grassi, *Descrizione storica e artistica di Pisa*, I, 1836.

15. J. B. Supino, *Arte pisana*, 1904, pp. 193-198; and P. Bacci in his excellent essay *Monumenti Danteschi*, in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1921, pp. 73-84.

16. That the sarcophagus rested on consoles and not, as had been assumed, on figure supports, was established

by Supino from the records concerning the moving of the tomb in 1489. E. Bertaux has justly pointed out that in this respect the creator of the tomb of Cino di Sinibaldi in Pistoja was influenced by Tino's work. I wish here to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. H. Bodmer, Director of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, whose assistance made it possible for me to obtain the new photographs from Pisa shown herewith, which were made under great difficulties by Croci of Bologna.



FIG. 21—Pisa, Cathedral: Detail of Recumbent Tomb Figure of Emperor Henry VII, by Tino di Camaino



FIG. 22—Pisa, Campo Santo: *Emperor Henry VII and His Advisers*, from *Tomb of the Emperor*, by Tino di Camaino



FIG. 23

Pisa, Campo Santo: Details of Emperor Henry VII and One of His Advisers, from Tomb of the Emperor, by Tino di Camaino



FIG. 24



FIG. 25



FIG. 26

Pisa, Campo Santo: Details of Two of the Advisers of Emperor Henry VII, from Tomb of the Emperor, by Tino di Camaino

Comparison of the heads (Figs. 23-26) in the baldachin group with the head of the recumbent figure of the emperor should make it amply clear that all were executed by the master himself; no assistant could have produced works of such masterly psychology and technical freedom.¹⁷ Neither is it likely, as Papini assumes, that Tino merely executed the seated figure of the emperor and that the surrounding figures are the work of his pupils. One need only study the seemingly hasty and yet so masterly and sensitive drawing of the mouths to recognize that the same hand is responsible for them all. Still higher, presumably on the lower corners of the roof of the baldachin, stood four half life-size female figures—in the front, the group of the Annunciation, in the rear, two mourners—while possibly four angel statuettes (Figs. 47 and 49) which are still preserved adorned the finials on the peak of the baldachin. These four statuettes, at one time placed on the Gherardesca tomb, as is shown in an Alinari photograph (Fig. 37), have been linked by R. Papini with Tino's tomb probably rightly in spite of their slight difference in style; and now, with the group of the Annunciation (Fig. 27), which in my earlier essay I referred to as lost, they are in a storehouse behind the Campo Santo. It seems strange that these figures, and the two mourners now standing beside the Ricci tomb, should not be placed beside the group of the emperor and his councillors instead of in the inaccessible spot (along with other important sculptures by Nino Pisano and from the Gherardesca tomb) in which they have been sequestered from the sight of art lovers for the past ten years.¹⁸

Each of three of these little angel figures carries a sphere, pierced above, apparently for the insertion of a bronze cross, and symbolizing the Imperial Globe; little metal scepters probably fitted into the openings in the opposite hands. That all four angels originally had metal wings is proved by the places on their backs where the wings were attached. The original coloring was particularly strong in these highly placed figures and it is unusually well preserved here and in the group of the Annunciation, as witness the ecclesiastical red of the stole, the blue lining of the cloak, the golden borders of the angel's garments, and the tinted eyes of Mary and the Gabriel of the Annunciation; and it was further enhanced by the use of gilded metal. In the document giving Tino the principal payment for the execution of the monument, the painter who carried out this decorative coloring and the smith responsible for the metal work are specifically mentioned. The four angel statuettes are to my mind the only figures which were not executed by Tino's own hand; they show the characteristics of a young collaborator who may possibly be Giovanni Balducci, as we shall see later.

Astonishment has been expressed at the rapidity with which Tino worked, completing this tomb in the course of only six months. We are prone to believe that the sculptors of an earlier day were slower in their work than their present day brethren, whereas in reality, then as to-day, the individual temperament governed the manner of working. The fact remains that Tino, after his thirty years of activity, left behind him an achievement of considerable extent, although not nearly so large as that of Giovanni Pisano. There are

17. That Lupo di Francesco took no part in the creation of these figures, as has frequently been assumed, has already been affirmed on stylistic grounds in my essay. At that time R. Papini's admirable study in *Bollettino d'arte*, 1915, on the sculptures in the Campo Santo had escaped me. He, as after him P. Bacci, points out that the document on which this assumed collaboration was

founded was falsely interpreted and had no bearing on the emperor's tomb. Yet Papini and later Volbach (*op. cit.*) both assume collaboration.

18. This situation has made the intelligent application of R. Papini's article almost impossible, as his enumeration of the individual sculptures cannot be authenticated.

in some of the latter's reliefs as many figures as we find in a whole tomb by Tino. It must also be remembered that compared with the work of contemporary painters Tino's work was little exposed to destruction, in the first place on account of its material, secondly because it consisted for the most part of tombs which, while they were frequently moved and in part dismantled, were very seldom destroyed. Most of the figures—probably all—hereinafter listed were parts of some few tombs that we have not yet been able accurately to reconstruct. Tino undoubtedly was a prolific and facile worker. Added to this, he lived at a period, the beginning of the trecento, when the imaginative impulse of those artists allied to the new movement gushed forth with unprecedented vehemence.

We would be wrong to assume that, because so many works by him have been preserved, he made frequent use of collaboration. At least the figure portions of his work, particularly of the Pisan and Florentine periods, seem to be absolutely original and in their formation and technique betray so completely personal a character as practically to preclude the possibility of a pupil's collaboration. It should be noted that the master varied his manner of execution, and statues or reliefs that had merely a decorative significance, or were not to be closely seen, he executed roughly, finishing other parts, closer to the spectator, most minutely. This practice explains the difference existing, for example, between the two supporting figures in Florentine ownership, the first (Fig. 28) showing the linear pattern everywhere carried out to the highest pitch, and the second (Fig. 29) with its companion piece representing a saint with donor, only sketchily executed, although the master's characteristically splendid unity of form is found in all three compositions. The differences in style are, naturally, due also to the development of the artist, the second figure being a work of his early Pisan period while the first shows subtleties which we do not find before the Florentine period.

I am illustrating for the first time the fragment of a font (Fig. 31)¹⁹ discovered by Bacci. It belongs to Tino's early Pisan period, and shows even at this early date the artist's delicate spiritual qualities. So far as I know, the Madonna (Fig. 30) on the east side of S. Maria della Spina (of which until now no good photograph has been available) has not previously been attributed to him. As it falls among the numerous Madonnas by followers of Giovanni Pisano, it is hard to name the individual master with absolute certainty; I believe, however, that this particular type, with its relatively flat face, in which forehead and chin flow in a vertical line, and with its lively and yet lyrically imagined child, lies closest to Tino. Undoubtedly this Madonna was executed about 1310, or even earlier, before the restoration and enlargement of the church which took place after 1325, when the angels on either side of the Madonna and most of the statues on the other façades of the little church were added. Still earlier, in close relationship to the Turin Madonna, is the charming Madonna statuette in the museum at Lucca (Fig. 33), if it has been rightly attributed to our artist.

Several figures by this master have appeared in private Florentine ownership, and doubtless most of them belong to his Florentine period. Among these are the half-length angel with folded arms in the Charles Loeser Collection and its companion piece in the Palazzo Tempi. These figures have been thought to have come from the decoration of the former façade of the cathedral but are much more likely from the tomb of Gastone della

19. No. 3 of my list in *Art in America*, loc. cit.



FIG. 27—Pisa, Campo Santo Depot:
Virgin of the Annunciation, from
Tomb of Emperor Henry VII, by
Tino di Camaino



FIG. 28—Florence, Private Ownership:
Supporting Figure, by Tino di Camaino



FIG. 29—Florence, Private Ownership:
Supporting Figure, by Tino di Camaino



FIG. 30—Pisa, S. Maria della Spina: Marble Statue of the Madonna, by Tino di Camaino



FIG. 31—Pisa, Museo Civico: Fragment from Baptismal Font, by Tino di Camaino



FIG. 32—Detroit, Collection of
Mr. Ralph H. Booth: Marble
Figure of Justice, from Atelier
of Tino di Camaino



FIG. 33—Lucca, Museo Civico: Marble
Statuette of the Madonna, by
Tino di Camaino (?)



FIG. 34—Detroit, Collection of
Mr. Ralph H. Booth: Marble
Allegorical Figure, from Atelier
of Tino di Camaino



FIG. 35



FIG. 36

Cava dei Tirreni, Chiostro della Trinità: Marble Reliefs of the Mourning Women under the Cross and Madonna with Saints and Donor, by Tino di Camaino



FIG. 37—Pisa, Campo Santo: Tomb of the Gherardesca Family, by Lupo di Francesco
(the four Statuettes of Angels are from Tomb of Emperor Henry VII)

Torre in S. Croce, which originally was much more richly adorned with figures than now. They are executed in the same whitish, blue-veined marble as the figure of St. Dominic in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.²⁰ It is likely that the tomb of Antonio d'Orso in the cathedral of Florence was, also, originally a more elaborate structure, in the manner of the Pedroni tomb in Siena. In any case, we may safely assume that besides the St. Michael in the hands of a Florentine dealer, which I have already described,²¹ the above-mentioned figures of angels and the saint with the kneeling donor, also belonging to a Florentine dealer, must have formed part of a tomb of this kind. We should remember that Tino is mentioned in a document of 1322 as working for the baptistery in Florence.²²

The most important of Tino's works at Florence not known to me when I published my first studies on the artist is a life-size group which likewise formed part of a great monument and may well belong to his Pisan period. It is the figure designated as Caritas, a woman in three-quarter length, nursing two children, in the Museo Bardini, which A. Lensi²³ has already tentatively ascribed to Tino. The justice of this attribution can be questioned only because of the clumsy additions to the face, which detract somewhat from the original Tinoesque characteristics of the figure. The group may be an allegory of the City of Pisa inspired by Giovanni Pisano's group on the pulpit of the cathedral. At any rate, despite its cubic compactness, it shows a close formal relationship to Giovanni and it must have been executed not later than the beginning of the second or the end of the first decade of the trecento. Later, in the tomb of Catherine of Austria in S. Lorenzo at Naples, Tino used a similarly designed Caritas as a supporting figure. The above-mentioned figure of a youth wrapped in a cloak (Fig. 28), in the hands of a Florentine dealer, is of hardly less importance. It was undoubtedly one of the supports of a sarcophagus and is one of Tino's masterpieces, most skilful in structure, delicate in expression, and incomparable in linear rhythm. The attractive curly-headed figure is so bent by his burden that all the bodily lines, despite the support under the left arm (the right arm is broken away; only the hand placed on the hip is preserved), and the outstretched right foot, seem as if broken by weight and flow helplessly to the ground. Only the most gifted of artists could thus have combined inspiration with such stern forms.

The diverse development achieved by Tino during his comparatively short career is extraordinary. How much tenderer in feeling and more suave in form his work became in the southern atmosphere of Naples, where the French influence was strongly felt! In the two hitherto unknown and nobly conceived allegorical female figures in the collection of Ralph H. Booth, in Detroit (Figs. 32 and 34), which may possibly have been part of the fragmentarily preserved tomb of Filippo di Taranto and Giovanni di Durazzo in S. Domenico, Naples, we can already recognize the transition to a suaver manner in the dreamy heads, although they are probably not entirely the work of Tino's own hand.²⁴ Most likely from the same tomb are the four admirable angel statues, two of which have

20. No. 13 of my earlier list, illustrated there by fig. 9.

21. No. 11 of my earlier list.

22. The document is reprinted by K. Frey in his edition of Vasari (1911), p. 349. See also P. Bacci in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1921, p. 76.

23. *Dedalo*, 1926, p. 772.

24. A marble statuette of a single figure of a saint from about the same period is in the collection of Count A.

Contini, in Rome. Regarding the statues in the Booth collection my first thought was that they might be the two missing supporting figures from the tomb of Maria of Valois, but one of these I found later in the depot of S. Chiara where also a charming statuette of a knight holding a falcon upon his hand, by Tino (perhaps from the tomb of Filippo di Taranto and Giovanni di Durazzo) is preserved.

been acquired by the Cleveland Museum and attributed tentatively by W. M. Milliken to Giovanni and Pacio da Firenze, whose severe and phlegmatic style is however very different from the extraordinary lyrical swing of these exquisite, poetic works from Tino's own hand.

The mood and atmosphere of this late style is even more strikingly demonstrated in the portions of an altarpiece that exist unrecognized in the Chiostro della Trinità, in Cava dei Tirreni, not far from Salerno (Figs. 35 and 36). While subjects such as the Madonna Enthroned with Saints are not unknown in Tino's work, the portrayal of the Mourning Women beneath the Cross and of the soldier in two larger reliefs (the crucifix is unfortunately missing) and the Slaughter of the Innocents in a small relief is new among the subjects treated by the artist and shows the master's dramatic side at no sacrifice of his mood of tender inspiration.²⁵ In particular, the splendid unity of the relief of the Sorrowing Women, showing him at the apogee of his last style in the moving resignation of the expression, the ethereal treatment of the forms, and the beauty of the linear rhythm, is reminiscent of his contemporary and fellow citizen Simone Martini.²⁶

(4) LUPO DI FRANCESCO

Only a few days after the completion of the emperor's tomb, a new task presented itself to the cathedral commission—the erection of a tomb in memory of those who had fallen in the important battle of Montecatini, successfully waged against the united forces of the Guelph party on August 29, 1315.²⁷ Among the slain honored by the tomb erected in the cathedral at Pisa were Carl of Anjou and Francesco, ruler of Lucca and son of Ugucione della Faggiola, the Pisan *condottiere*. It was inevitable that Ugucione's depredations should bring matters to a climax between Pisa and Florence. The latter city felt that her preëminent position as the principal Guelph stronghold in Tuscany was threatened, and induced her ally, the King of Naples, to send a considerable force commanded by his brother Filippo of Taranto to join the hurriedly assembled Guelph army. A second brother of King Robert's, Pietro of Eboli, was already awaiting eventualities in Florence, and he and Filippo together assumed command of the Guelph forces. Their opponent, Ugucione,

25. Unfortunately the photographs that I had made in Cava were not successful.

26. Three corrections should be made in my list of twenty-five works of Tino di Camaino published in *Art in America*, October, 1923: to no. 5 (Tomb of Henry VII) belongs the group of the Annunciation in a storehouse in the Campo Santo, Pisa; no. 21 is now in the Charles Loeser Collection, Florence; and no. 23 is now in the Detroit Institute of Arts. The following supplementary list may now be added:

No. 26.—Madonna statuette, Museo Civico, Lucca.

No. 27.—Madonna statue, S. Maria della Spina, Pisa.

No. 28.—Supporting figure, Florentine art dealer.

No. 29.—Caritas, Museo Bardini, Florence.

Nos. 30 & 31.—Half-length figures of angels, Charles Loeser Collection, Florence; and Palazzo Tempi, Florence.

Nos. 32 & 33.—Supporting figure; saint and donor, Florentine art dealer.

No. 34.—Statuette of a saint, collection of Count Contini, Rome.

Nos. 35 & 36.—Two allegorical statues, collection of Ralph H. Booth, Detroit.

Nos. 37-40.—Four angels holding curtains: two, Florentine art dealer; two, Cleveland Museum.

Nos. 41-46.—Parts of an altar representing the Mount of Calvary and other subjects: 41—The Mourning Women beneath the Cross; 42—The Soldiers beneath the Cross; 43—Madonna Enthroned with Saints and Donor (the abbot of the monastery?); 44—The Slaughter of the Innocents, small relief; 45—Full-length relief of a standing bearded saint; 46—Half-length relief of St. Benedict, arched at top, possibly companion-piece to Madonna and Child in Berlin Museum: Chiostro della Trinità, Cava dei Tirreni, near Salerno.

No. 47.—Relief of three Virtues, possibly from tomb of Filippo di Taranto and Giovanni di Durazzo, collection of Maitland F. Griggs, New York (formerly Stroganoff Collection, Rome).

27. See the excellent description in R. Davidsohn's "*Geschichte von Florenz*," 1912, III, p. 553.



FIG. 38—*Pisa, Campo Santo: Detail of Recumbent Tomb Figure of Bonifazio Gherardesca, the Elder, by Lupo di Francesco*



FIG. 39—*Pisa, Campo Santo: Detail of the Gherardesca Tomb, by Lupo di Francesco*



FIG. 40



FIG. 41

Pisa, Campo Santo Depot: Gherardo Gherardesca under the Protection of St. Francis, and the Virgin of the Annunciation, from the Gherardesca Tomb, by Lupo di Francesco

had on his part already assembled his troops, although in seemingly less imposing numbers, under the leadership of his two sons, Francesco and Neri; and the redoubtable Castruccio, who had been banished from Lucca, owed his return to Uguccione.

The battle took place in the valley of Nievole not far from Pistoja. The Florentine army occupied the heights of Monsummano, while Uguccione was encamped before the fortress of Montecatini, to which he had laid unavailing siege for several weeks. The enemy troops had planned to get past him and occupy Buggiano in order to menace his line of retreat toward Lucca. No sooner did Uguccione learn of this plan than he abandoned during the night his siege of Montecatini and withdrew with his main body of troops in apparent fear of the enemy's superior strength. The following morning the Guelph army started in pursuit, carefree, and wearing only part of their armor owing to the summer heat. This move was precisely what Uguccione had counted on. His vanguard inaugurated a carefully planned attack on the advance guard of the Guelphs and overcame them. The Florentine knights, under the leadership of Pietro of Eboli made energetic resistance, but they too broke in confusion when a flank attack by Uguccione's famous bowmen poured a rain of arrows onto the Guelph lance-bearers, who in their turn retreated on top of the knights whom they were supposed to protect. A Ghibelline victory was already assured before the main body of Uguccione's troops arrived, and the decisive onslaught was left to these fresh troops, who instigated a terrific slaughter. It is said that ten thousand men were killed and seven thousand taken prisoner by Uguccione's troops. Pietro of Eboli, and his eighteen-year-old nephew, Carl of Anjou, Filippo's son were among the slain. The latter probably fell in close combat with Uguccione's son Francesco. The Ghibellines on their side lost this same Francesco, ruler of Lucca, and Castruccio, who had greatly contributed to the victorious outcome, was badly wounded.

Uguccione ordered the bodies of Carl of Anjou and his own son Francesco, which were found side by side on the battlefield, to be buried immediately after the battle in a common grave in the Badia di Buggiano, and later their bones, when, as was then customary the flesh had been removed from them by boiling, were taken to Pisa, where the tomb was erected in the cathedral in their memory and that of the other heroes of this battle.

Unfortunately, the entire tomb has disappeared, but we know at least by whom it was executed. Lupo di Francesco, who succeeded Tino di Camaino as chief architect of the cathedral,²⁸ was commissioned in October, 1315, to obtain the marble blocks for this tomb from Carrara, and according to another document he was still occupied with this task in February of the following year. The first document speaks of the tomb to be executed for the "*Principo et aliis corporibus qui sunt in ecclesia.*" In the second, the more explicit information of "*apportatis de exercitu Montis Catini*" is added to the "*corporibus.*" For a long time the first record was erroneously associated with the emperor's tomb executed by Tino, which at this date had long since been completed. R. Papini correctly points out that the emperor was designated always as *Dominus Imperator*, and R. Davidsohn²⁹ has already in illuminating fashion connected the reference to the "*Principo*" with Carl of Anjou who, despite the pleas made by his father, Filippo, from Florence, was buried with Francesco Uguccione in Pisa. A document found by P. Bacci tells that Tino di Camaino

28. C. L. Tanfani, *Notizie d'artisti tratte dai documenti pisani*, Pisa, 1873, p. 68.

29. R. Davidsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 584.

fought on the side of the Guelphs in the battle at Montecatini and was dismissed on this account from his position as chief architect of the cathedral: this explains the employment of another artist for the execution of the new tomb in the cathedral.

Of Lupo di Francesco, who executed this tomb, we know further³⁰ that in January, 1315, he was occupied with the work of the cathedral construction together with other sculptors under the leadership of Tino di Camaino at a salary of five and a half soldi daily and that in 1318 he directed the quarrying of the necessary marble in the Pisan hills and that at this same time he was paid for the delivery of the (metal?) wings of two angels for the high altar of the cathedral and for the painting of these same angels, which were undoubtedly his own work. We know too that in 1325, as leading architect of the city, he advised with the authorities concerning additions to the church of S. Maria della Spina and that in 1336 he was employed at a high stipend together with his son Gherio, in connection with the church of S. Caterina. It is probable that he was then still cathedral architect. The death of Tino di Camaino occurred in Naples about this time and we may assume that Lupo di Francesco's dates are about the same as his, a supposition which, we will see, finds further support on stylistic grounds.

To return to the political history of Pisa, we find that Uguccione, like many another famous general, soon came to the end of his tether when, in lieu of making wars, he essayed to control the political destinies of the city. So brutal was he in his treatment of any statesman who failed to win his favor, that the Pisan noblemen, under the leadership of Count Gherardo (or Gaddo) della Gherardesca determined to banish him from the city. While Uguccione was on the way to Lucca to dispose finally of Castruccio, whom he had already imprisoned on account of his waxing power, the gates of Pisa were closed against him, and no sooner did the citizens of Lucca hear of this event than they, too, took steps to free themselves from the tyrant. Castruccio was released from prison and proclaimed ruler of Lucca amid the plaudits of the people, while Uguccione and his son Neri were driven from the city. Nothing remained for the former hero, now deserted by his adherents, but a retreat to northern Italy. He found refuge at the court of the Can Grande in Verona, where for a long time he vainly nourished projects of revenge.

The Pisans promptly elected Count Gherardesca ruler of their city, and from 1316 till his death in 1320 (1321 according to Pisan reckoning) he governed with great political sagacity both in his foreign and his domestic relations. His personality holds a peculiar interest for us on account of the tomb in the Campo Santo.

The Ugolino who, to Dante's horror, languished away in the Hunger Tower with his seven sons and nephews was one of this family. A Gherardesca it was who, as the companion of Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufers, was put to death with him by order of Carl of Anjou, leaving two sons, Bonifazio and Ranieri della Gherardesca. Ranieri was one of the heroes of the battle of Montecatini, and was knighted above the corpse of the young Carl of Anjou, cursing the forebear of this lad as his father's murderer. Bonifazio il Vecchio enjoyed particular esteem for he expended his fortune on good works. At one time he was taken prisoner by the Genoese, but was released by them shortly before the great naval battle of Meloria in 1284 when the Pisan fleet was completely destroyed by the Genoese. He died in 1313. The tomb erected in his memory by his son acquaints us with the features of this corpulent, keen and friendly-looking nobleman (Fig. 38).

30. C. L. Tanfani, *op. cit.*; Supino, *Arte pisana*, p. 198; P. Bacci, *Rassegna d'arte*, 1921.

Gherardo (or Gaddo) della Gherardesca succeeded in establishing a peaceful civic government and concluded a most favorable pact with the king of Naples. He married his son to the daughter of Castruccio, ruler of Lucca and bestowed the dignity of Podestà on his uncle Ranieri, who was later to become his less fortunate successor. One of the happiest interludes in Pisan history comes to an end with Gherardo's early death.

Bonifazio il Vecchio and Gherardo della Gherardesca are both buried in the great tomb that to-day still adorns the Campo Santo, although it is now in somewhat fragmentary condition (Fig. 37). Younger members of the family, the boy Gherardo, who died in 1337, and Bonifazio Novello, who died in 1341, were later interred in the same tomb; this led in recent years to the attribution of a considerably later date to the monument—the middle of the century, or even later. Supino was the first justly to reject as most unlikely the attribution of the tomb to Tommaso Pisano, Nino's brother, and to connect its author with a relief of the Annunciation in S. Michele in Borgo and the statues in the baldachin over the entrance to the Campo Santo. Papini calls attention to the fact that the boy who died in 1337 was, according to Morrona's description,³¹ buried in a sarcophagus placed in front of the monument at a later date; Papini thinks that the tomb must have been erected shortly after Gherardo's death. It seems more likely that it was erected by Gherardo's order during his lifetime, in fact soon after the death of the elder Bonifazio, that is, between 1315 and 1320. The character of the inscriptions bears out this supposition. The middle tablet, beneath the tomb, bearing the principal inscription, a dedication to Bonifazio, who died in 1313, is in the same lettering as the inscription on the sarcophagus itself, while the tablet below on the left, telling of Gherardo's death, makes use of another form of lettering and is obviously a later addition. Added to this, we should consider the realism of the portrait of the old Bonifazio (Fig. 38). One questions the likelihood of any artist's producing so realistic a likeness ten years after the subject's death. The portrait of Gherardo (Fig. 40) is even more obviously done from life. Noticeably youthful in appearance, and protected by St. Francis, he is shown as donor kneeling to the Madonna. If the tomb were really executed after Gherardo's death, why is he portrayed as alive rather than dead like Bonifazio? Papini, to be sure, remarks that according to Morrona both Bonifazio and Gherardo were originally portrayed as recumbent figures in the central part of the tomb, Gherardo thus appearing twice, once after death and again as the donor beside the Madonna. Morrona, however, makes no statement to this effect. He informs us that the tomb was dedicated to the two counts, Bonifazio and Gaddo, but mentions only one recumbent figure, which he describes as Gaddo's. Such an error on Morrona's part is quite explicable, especially as he makes no mention of the figure of the donor kneeling beside St. Francis. It is to be assumed that Morrona would have mentioned the second recumbent figure had it existed.³²

31. Morrona, *Pisa illustrata nelle arti del disegno*, Livorno, 1812.

32. Morrona's description is as follows: "Sovraposto al medesimo s'innalza il gran Mausoleo che onore ossa del conte Bonifazio della Gherardesca, cognominato il vecchio, e del conte Gherardo suo figliolo che fu il Signor di Pisa. Egli e tutto composto di candidi marmi ed è di quel tempo. Non manca pertanto la ricchezza delle figure, e degl'intagli nei membri architettonici, e non che gl'intagli vincono in bontà di lavoro la più parte della statue, perchè non son tutte della

miglior maniera pisana. Quella del conte Gaddo giacente sull'arca con i simulacri della Vergine, et dell'Angelo che l'annunzia apparisce di più industrie scalpello cioè dall'autore stesso tutta perfezionata. Qualche bontà nelle teste, e nel piegar dei panni spicca nelle figure di bassorilievo intagliate in fronte all'arca medesima. Hanno ancora qualche merito per quel tempo le statue della Madonna col Bambino, di S. Nicolo et di S. Francesco situate nel superiore sportamento della macchina, che tutta insieme si può riporre fratte opere di seconda classe della scuola pisana da noi celebrata."

It is possible from Morrona's description to reconstruct the tomb and to establish that, contrary to common belief, none of the statues have been lost. On either side of the recumbent figure of Bonifazio were the figures of Mary and the angel (Figs. 1, 41, and 42), that now stand above the count's body. Of the group that originally stood there, beneath a baldachin, only the figure of St. Nicholas remains (Fig. 43). Originally he must have stood on the left instead of on the right, as is indicated by the direction in which he points toward the recumbent Bonifazio, whose patron saint he undoubtedly was. The Madonna from the middle of this group was discovered by Supino above the north side entrance to the cathedral (Fig. 44), and the St. Francis, with Gaddo as donor, is now in the storehouse behind the Campo Santo. Both St. Nicholas and St. Francis were confiding their *protégés* to the mercy of the Madonna, and the plea for "*istis comitibus*" addressed to her on the rim of the sarcophagus is conceived in this spirit. The relief on the sarcophagus, of the young count who died in 1337, was a later addition, quite naturally carried out in a later style than the other portions of the tomb.

We can hardly doubt that the execution of so important a commission for the ruler of the city must have been placed in the hands of the architect in chief, who was at this time Lupo di Francesco.³³ Just as Giovanni Pisano, as chief architect of the cathedral, erected the tomb for the deceased Empress Margaret in Genoa, and Tino di Camaino, as his successor, was appointed to carry out that of the emperor, it is highly probable that Tino's successor, Lupo, who erected the tomb for the heroes of the battle of Montecatini, was given this commission by the first ruler that the city had boasted since the emperor's death. This assumption is strengthened when we realize that the aediculum (Fig. 48) on the Campo Santo is the work of the master of the Gherardesca tomb. So decisive a structure, as far as the architecture of the Campo Santo was concerned, as this tabernacle over the entrance would never have been confided to anyone save the chief architect of the cathedral, whose duties included the direction of the work in the Campo Santo.

That the identity of the master of the aediculum statues remained undetermined for so long a period was partly due to the difficulty attending any study of this work on account of its position. What was obvious to every one who had braved the fatigues of an attentive study through binoculars was first decisively announced by R. Papini in his excellent essay on the Campo Santo sculptures: the author of the statues in the aediculum by no means belonged to the second half of the fourteenth century as had been generally assumed,³⁴ but was, on the contrary, a contemporary of Tino di Camaino's and a master of considerable importance. The monumental conception, the broad, clear formulation, the strict unity of the figures all bear out his relation to the masters of the three first decades of the trecento, to the artists of the generation following Giovanni Pisano, such as Tino, Giovanni Balducci, or the Sienese Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura. Each figure forms a separate pillar-like mass. The lines of their contours are straight and they are stiffly ranged alongside of each other. The enthroned figure of the majestic and expressive Madonna, probably the most splendid enthroned Queen of Heaven in all Pisan trecento sculpture, achieves this effectiveness through her stern structural character.

33. R. Papini has already tentatively advanced the theory that the master of the Gherardesca tomb might prove to be Lupo di Francesco, without, however, any more definite reason than the indication of contemporaneity.

34. A. Venturi (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, IV) aptly characterizes this master's style with "*forme rigide delle figure*," but connects him unjustly, in my opinion, with some of the late trecento reliefs of the Campanile in Florence.



FIG. 42

Pisa, Campo Santo: Details of the Angel of the Annunciation and St. Nicholas, on the Gherardesca Tomb, by Lupo di Francesco



FIG. 43



FIG. 44—Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs: Marble Statuette of the Madonna, by Lupo di Francesco (?)



FIG. 45—Pisa, S. Michele in Borgo: Relief of the Annunciation, by Lupo di Francesco



FIG. 46—Pisa, Cathedral: Marble Statue of the Madonna over the Porto del Crocifisso, by Lupo di Francesco

The heads of Mother and Child are on a level, the height of the Child is exactly one-half that of the Mother, and the horizontal line is emphasized by the position of the arms of Mother and Child, held almost at right angles to the vertical line of the group. The folds of the cloak are arranged in simple geometric forms. The distinctive structure of the other figures is equally symmetrical in effect: witness the angel at the right with crossed arms and the outside figures, which hold the folds of their garments massed together in such fashion that the curves of the draperies radiate to either side of the hand which grasps them.

We find here those same tendencies, current from the second decade of the trecento onward, that may be discerned in the work of the other sculptors enumerated above, tendencies in which we recognize a necessary reaction against Giovanni Pisano's exaggerated and pictorial style, so destructive to all cubic mass formation. To be sure, our master does not lay so strong an emphasis on this formation as did Tino di Camaino, although it is easier to recognize his insistence on a close adjustment of the extremities to the body in the Gherardesca tomb than here, where the hands have undergone many modern restorations. In the case of the Madonna, however, the folds of the draperies are so deeply hollowed as to remind us of Giovanni Pisano. Otherwise our master has little in common with the style of his great predecessor. His figures never show the daring and impassioned postures of Giovanni's, and in place of the latter's wild and dramatic spirit we find here the expression of a serene and diffident temperament, none the less wholeheartedly dedicated to the portrayal of devout faith.

If we have now familiarized ourselves with the characteristics of this rather rigid but none the less grandiose sculptor, it is not difficult to recognize in him the master of the Gherardesca tomb.³⁵ It is only necessary to point out the great similarity in the facial types of the tabernacle and tomb. The prominently developed lower portion of the face, the jutting chin, the full protruding lips of the straightly cut mouth, the pronounced nose, somewhat prominent eyes, and high forehead cannot be mistaken. The long, outstretched throats and the precisely placed hands, crossed over the bosom, laid flat against the breast, or holding up the drapery at the side are almost identical in the tomb and tabernacle. The cubic effect of the free figures and the almost geometrical delineation of the features are even more noticeable in the tomb than in the tabernacle. The cubic forms and the flatly applied hands are directly reminiscent of Tino di Camaino.

The Madonna Enthroned (Fig. 44) now above the portal of the cathedral creates, particularly in the older photograph reproduced here, a less favorable impression than does the Madonna above the entrance to the Campo Santo, but her features, with the straight-cut, full-lipped mouth and high forehead, and the pose of her hands and arrangement of her draperies are very characteristic of this master. We can hardly believe, although there is a hint of Gothic line in the pose, that this statue was executed later than so perfect an achievement as the Madonna of the tabernacle, who is seated squarely facing the spectator. It is much more likely that the aediculum group, with its more gracious attendant figures, is a little the later of the two, and probably was executed during the second decade of the trecento.

35. J. B. Supino and R. Papini were the first to declare that both these works were by the same hand, a fact which I had independently recognized. F. Volbach (*Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, 1925) agrees with

Papini. A. Venturi, the *Cicerone*, and Schubring (*Pisa*) hold, on the contrary, to the older attribution of a later date and do not bring the two monuments into relationship.

There is in Pisa still a third work³⁶ by the master of the Gherardesca tomb, an Annunciation in relief in S. Michele in Borgo (Fig. 45). Years ago Supino³⁷ associated this relief with the master of the Gherardesca tomb. Papini has opposed this attribution and Volbach concurs with him, dating it in the second half of the trecento; while the *Cicerone* tentatively attributes it to Fra Guglielmo together with the fragments of a pulpit in S. Michele which, however, is undoubtedly by another hand.

That the relief is the work of our master can be established by a comparison of the type of the Madonna with the reliefs on the sarcophagus of the Gherardesca tomb. The same formation of the mouth, the same large and empty eyes, the flat hands with their sketchily modeled fingers with large nails could never have been reproduced with such close similarity by any other master. The much greater movement shown in the garments is, to be sure, a divergence, indicating a different stage of the artist's development. This has led the more recent investigators to attribute a later date to this relief. To me, however, the earlier date of the *Cicerone* seems nearer the mark. We find similarly ample draperies although in more angular form, in the work of Nicola Pisano, and the classical, large-featured type of the Madonna and the heroic cast of the angel's head are also reminiscent of this style. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that in its beginnings the style of our master stood in as close relationship to Nicola as to Giovanni, although his originality of spirit soon led him far from both.

As we claim to recognize Lupo di Francesco in the master discussed above, we must abandon all idea of identifying him in any of the S. Maria della Spina sculptures or with the master of the apostles from the workshop of Giovanni Pisano in the Berlin Museum. For, as I see it now after a careful examination, not one of the numerous statues on the outside of S. Maria della Spina in the least suggests the master of the Gherardesca tomb.

A little-known marble statuette of the Madonna and Child in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (Fig. 46) is closely related to him in style. It is true that any comparison between this small, carefully executed figure and the life-size decorative figures of the Campo Santo is somewhat difficult. The master's tendency toward geometric construction in the outlines of his figures is noticeable, however, as is also his emphasis of the horizontal and vertical lines—for instance, the straight shoulder lines of the Madonna and Child, and the angular turn of the Child's arm. There is, further, much similarity of feature—the somewhat protruding eyes, full upper lip, straight mouth, and, finally, the hands with their long, flat fingers are particularly noteworthy. The relationship to Nicola Pisano is noticeable in the portrayal of the draperies and in the heroic spirit that pervades the work.

(5) GIOVANNI BALDUCCI

That where sculpture was concerned Florence should have occupied a position of secondary importance during the first three decades of the trecento was by no means a coincidence. Nor was it accidental that Pisa and Siena should have boasted more important masters who produced almost all the sculptures required to fill Florentine needs, so that the latter's rise in this domain should have commenced only in 1330, with the

36. Papini ascribes to this master also the more than life-size figure of St. Zeno in the Campo Santo, but I am not yet ready to accept this attribution.

37. *Arte pisana*, 1904, p. 245.

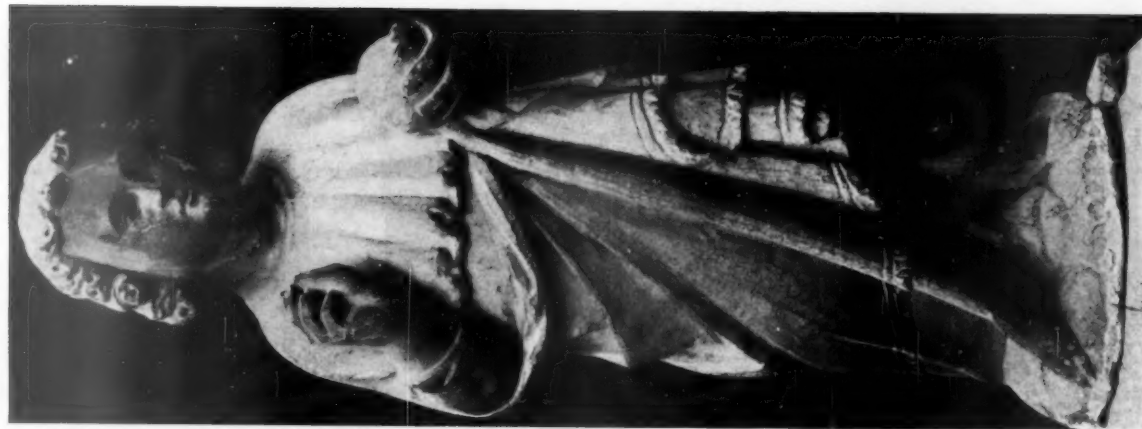


FIG. 47—Pisa, Campo Santo Depot:
Marble Statuette of an Angel, from
Tomb of Emperor Henry VII, by
Giovanni Balducci

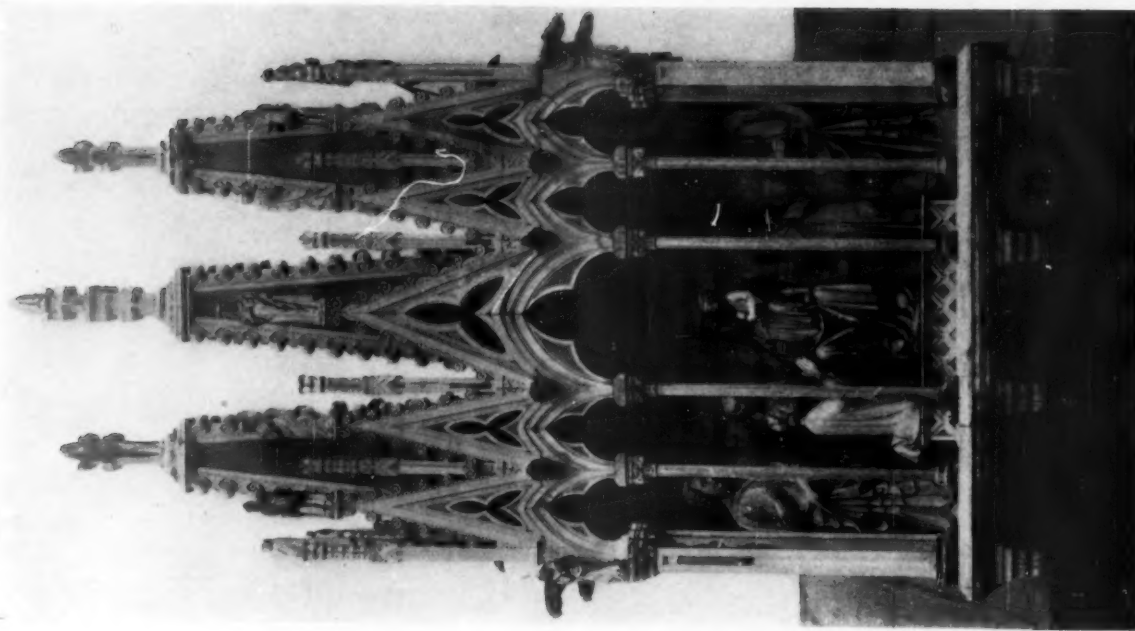


FIG. 48—Pisa, Campo Santo: Tabernacle
over the Portal, by Lupo di Francesco



FIG. 49—Pisa, Campo Santo Depot:
Marble Statuette of an Angel, from
Tomb of Emperor Henry VII, by
Giovanni Balducci



FIG. 50—Philadelphia, John G. Johnson
Collection: *Madonna*, from Tomb of
Guarnerio Castruccio, by
Giovanni Balducci



FIG. 51—Sarzana, S. Francesco:
Tomb of Guarnerio Castruccio, by
Giovanni Balducci

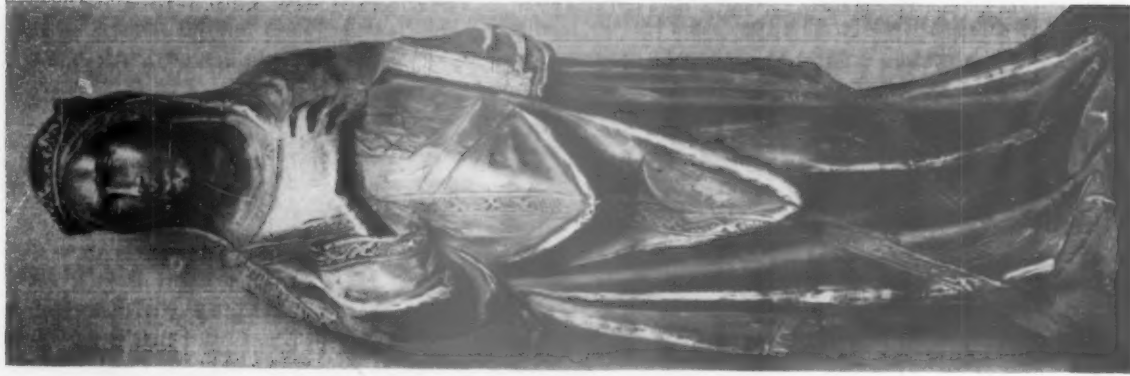


FIG. 52—Paris, Louvre: *Marble*
Statue of the *Madonna of*
the *Annunciation*, by
Giovanni Balducci

activities of Andrea Pisano. During this period the Ghibelline, or imperial, party was in the ascendancy in Tuscany, and its principal cities were Pisa, Lucca, Pistoja, and, for a while, Siena. The presence in Italy of the emperor, Henry VII, and later, toward the end of this period, although but fleetingly, of King Ludwig of Bavaria, added to this prestige. This ascendancy over the Guelph party, whose principal Tuscan possession, the city of Florence, was long menaced by the advancing forces of the Ghibellines, is summarized by the three decisive battles of the era: the battle of Montaperti, in 1260; the battle of Montecatini, in 1315, and, finally, the battle of Altopascio, in 1325, when the united forces of the Ghibellines defeated the combined Guelph armies of Florence and Naples. Ugucione della Faggiola was, as we have already seen, the hero of the battle of Montecatini, and Castruccio Castracani,³⁸ who took prominent part in this earlier battle, was destined to be the hero of Altopascio. As ruler of Lucca he became, with the possible exception of Ugucione, the most significant Ghibelline figure in Tuscany during the first three decades of the trecento, and his political sagacity was far greater than Ugucione's. His romantic life story begins with the banishment of his family, the Antelminelli, from Lucca, and his association as a youth with a trading house which his uncle Coluccio established in Pisa. His love of adventure, however, soon took him afield, and he fought among the Italian mercenaries in Flanders for Philip the Fair, returning to Italy with the imperial legate for Tuscany, Napoleone degli Orsini, and entering the military service of the republic of Venice. Later he went to Lombardy among the followers of the Imperial Stadtholder Werner von Homburg. From Milan he went, in the year 1313, with the mercenaries whom he now commanded, to join the emperor in Pisa, and, in the short space of three years, became ruler of Lucca and commander of the Ghibelline forces in Tuscany.

For the next twelve years, until his early death in 1328 at the age of forty-seven, he was arbiter of Tuscany's destiny. Through a series of varying, but in the main successful, battles he managed to empower himself of Ghibelline Tuscany from Sarzana to Pisa, and from Pisa to Pistoja, and, as a reward for his prowess, King Ludwig on his journey through Italy in November, 1327, bestowed on him the hereditary dukedoms of Lucca, Volterra, Pistoja, and Luni. His last and greatest goal, the conquest of Florence, was, however, not to be accomplished as a result of the weakness of the German king, who preferred to return direct to Pisa from Rome. This so embittered Castruccio that he was contemplating the betrayal of Ludwig of Bavaria and an alliance with his arch enemies the Florentines when death overtook him.

Castruccio's happy family life with his wife Pina, a Pisan noblewoman, and his children is a very sympathetic side of his history. Only one of his four sons failed to survive him, the youngest, Guarnerio, named after the imperial stadtholder, Werner von Homburg. It is due to grief over the death of this son that the name Castruccio finds an echo in art history—through Guarnerio's tomb in S. Francesco in Sarzana (Fig. 51). This tomb is signed with the name of Giovanni Balducci of Pisa, and frequent literary mention has been made of it.

We can think of a number of explanations of Castruccio's choice of this Pisan sculptor to carry out the tomb. As his youth was spent in Pisa, he may already have been acquainted

38. For a history of his life see Winkler, *Castruccio*

Castracani, Berlin, 1897, and particularly R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, 1912 (Chapters 4 & 5).

with Balducci, or he may have learned of him through his wife. If Balducci was allowed to help Tino in executing some of the statuettes of the emperor's tomb, this would have been a recommendation for him. It is also possible that Count Gherardesca, to whom Castruccio gave his daughter Bertecca in marriage, recommended the artist, who most likely worked in earlier years for Lupo di Francesco, the sculptor of the Gherardesca family tomb. The marriage between Gherardesca and Castruccio's daughter took place in 1327, at which time it appears the commission for the tomb was given.

There is only one mention of Balducci in the Pisan records during Castruccio's lifetime—in 1317-18—when he was employed at a comparatively small stipend by the cathedral architect, that is to say, by Lupo di Francesco. If he was Tino's pupil during the time of the execution of the emperor's tomb, we can date back his earliest works to the year 1315. We may assume that he was still quite young at this time and that he was born about 1295. The almost invariable designation of the tomb at Sarzana as a youthful work does not seem justified; Balducci must have been already in his thirties. There is, to be sure, considerable disagreement concerning the date of the tomb, but I believe it possible to determine the actual year. On what ground Milanesi bases his statement that the boy Guarnerio died in 1322 I do not know. If it is no better founded than his assertion that the tomb was not executed until after Castruccio's death—an assumption that Venturi and others have accepted—we must not lay too much stress on it. At any rate, it seems curious, although not impossible, that the monument should not have been erected until six years after the boy's death.

The assumption that the tomb was not executed until after Castruccio's death is on historical grounds most improbable, for with his death his family's power came to a most abrupt end. His sons endeavored to maintain themselves in Lucca and Pisa, and his widow implored the help of the German king on their behalf. In a few months, however, they were banished by the city over which Castruccio had ruled, and Pina, the widow of this once all-powerful lord, was condemned to death. What member of this family could possibly even one year after Castruccio's death have concerned himself with the erection of a memorial to the young Guarnerio?

If, however, the tomb was executed before Castruccio's death, it must have been built between November 17, 1327, and the date of his death, September 3, 1328, since in the inscription he is designated as Imperial Stadtholder of Lucca, which title was bestowed upon him on November 17, 1327, when the emperor on his way from Pisa to Rome broke his journey at Lucca. High up on the pinnacle of the tomb a herald with the imperial sword and shield stands as emblem of this dignity. On either side of the pointed arch are other shields bearing the arms of Castruccio—on the right-hand side the hound rampant of the Antelminelli, on the left the arms of the Wittelbachs with the blue and silver quadrangles. Both these arms are repeated again beneath the sarcophagus. We know that King Ludwig bestowed the arms of the Wittelbachs on Castruccio on his departure from Lucca. The strong insistence on these titles and dignities would seem to indicate a strong natural pride in newly-acquired honors, which is echoed in Castruccio's report to the town of Pisa concerning the dignities bestowed on him in Rome at the coronation of the emperor in 1328. The period of almost a year would have amply sufficed an artist like Giovanni Balducci for the construction of so simple a tomb, for we can measure his industry by his many richly-figured monuments in northern Italy.

The tomb in Sarzana is unfortunately no longer in its original form, which is shown in the photograph by Alinari reproduced here (Fig. 51). When I saw it in the summer of 1923 the statue of the Madonna had been replaced by an appallingly modern copy. I succeeded in locating the original statue in an American collection, that of the late John G. Johnson, in Philadelphia (Fig. 50), to which it was added during the world war in 1915 or 1916. It was one of the last acquisitions of this collector, who died in 1917 and who undoubtedly had never associated it with the Madonna stolen from the famous tomb. This Madonna,³⁹ shows how strong an influence Giovanni Pisano's art exercised on Balducci. The influence is more obvious here than in the other figures, which are rather akin to the master of the Gherardesca tomb, as F. Volbach has pointed out, and partly to Tino di Camaino.

The character of the Madonna statue convinces us, as do the other figures on the tomb, that dramatic emotion in the manner of Giovanni Pisano, for which Balducci strove here, was not his forte any more than was the stern, compact style of the master of the Gherardesca tomb. Giovanni Balducci had little temperament. He wins our interest through the naïvety of his figures, and his charming execution of detail, such as the patterns ornamenting the garments, the decorations on the nimbuses, and the flower *motifs* in the corners of the sarcophagus reliefs. The most noticeable facial characteristics of his Madonna are her small features, particularly the very tiny mouth with full, protruding lips. Similar small features concentrated in the center of a rather large skull are found in the four angel statuettes (Figs. 37, 47, and 49) from Tino's tomb of the emperor, which are too weak in execution for Tino himself. Also the somewhat morose expression and the phlegmatic movements of these angels seem to point to an artist with the temperament of Balducci, whose talent in these works would be indeed still very undeveloped. We find these traits repeated in a much finer and undoubtedly later work, a marble statue of the Madonna (Fig. 52) in a group of the Annunciation in the Louvre (catalogued as the work of a fourteenth century Pisan artist), which shows so great a similarity to the Madonna of the Sarzana tomb in the arrangement of the garments, the structure of the hands, and the proportions as to justify its attribution to Balducci. This assumption is strengthened by the attribution to our master already tentatively made by Dr. O. Wulf of the group of the Annunciation in S. Croce, Florence (Figs. 53 and 54).⁴⁰ These two figures were obviously executed soon after the pulpit in S. Casciano near Florence (Fig. 55) where we find a very similar conception of the same subject in relief (compare, for example, the similarity in the rendering of the angel's right arm). In the inscription here the artist describes himself for the first time as *magister*. The greater detail of the execution, the more delicate finish of the surface of the relief, the use of colored marble, and the introduction of small black stones for eyeballs all indicate a close relationship with this master's works in Milan, which probably date from a period not too far distant from his Florentine activities. It seems, therefore, that the artist went from Sarzana to S. Casciano,⁴¹ which had long been an imperial possession (Emperor Henry pitched his camp there in 1312), and from there to Florence, which city had, in the meantime, concluded peace with the Ghibelline party.

39. I owe the photographs of this statue to the kindness of Mr. Hamilton Bell.

40. *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Sculpturen des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums, Berlin*.

41. In the chronological arrangement of this master's works I am in accord with A. G. Meyer, *Lombardische Denkmäler des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 1893, whereas Venturi, Volbach, and others assume his work in S. Casciano to have been prior to that in Sarzana.

When, therefore, we find Balducci in the late thirties in the service of the ruler of Milan, Azzo Visconti, we may assume that the earlier relations between Castruccio and the young Azzo, who fought under him, were instrumental in bringing this about.⁴² That the artist should have transferred his activities from Florence to Milan was, in any event, by no means unnatural, as Azzo Visconti, in his turn, had also concluded a peace with the stronghold of the Guelph party in Tuscany.

42. F. Volbach is obviously in error when he says in the *Handbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*: "Soon thereafter (about 1335) Balducci was recommended by Castruccio to

his friend Azzo Visconti in Milan and moved there." Castruccio died in 1328.



FIG. 53

Florence, S. Croce: Angel and Virgin of the Annunciation, by Giovanni Balducci



FIG. 54



FIG. 55—S. Casciano, S. Maria del Prato: *Relief of the Annunciation, on a Pulpit, by Giovanni Balducci*



FIG. 1—London, British Museum: *Descent from the Cross and Entombment*, from Curzon MS. 153



FIG. 2—London, British Museum: *Ascension*, from Curzon MS. 153



FIG. 3—London, British Museum: *Portraits of the Czar John Alexander and St. Luke the Evangelist*, from Curzon MS. 153

TWO SLAVONIC PARALLELS OF THE GREEK TETRAEVANGELIA: PARIS 74

By SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN¹

ILLUSTRATED manuscripts occupy an important place in Byzantine art and offer very interesting material for comparative studies. They form an almost uninterrupted series throughout the centuries and constitute the only remaining records of the artistic activities of certain periods. They are more accessible and also more numerous than mural paintings or mosaics, for they were extremely popular in the Byzantine empire. Manuscripts were written and illuminated not only for liturgical use, but also for the private collections of emperors, bishops, abbots, or rich individuals.

The Church greatly encouraged this practice. The writings of some of the defenders of images, such as John Damascene or the patriarch Nicephoros, show that the illustration was held to be almost as important as the sacred text itself. In illuminated manuscripts, says the latter, the text and the painting reveal equally the teachings of divine history. One of the methods does not teach more than the other, both express the same truth, both teach and recall the Incarnation of the Word.² Since the image is held to be as sacred as the text, the miniaturist has to reproduce the illustration of his model as faithfully as the scribe copies the text. Thus, in the representation of scenes either from the Gospels or the Old Testament, certain types of composition are sanctioned by the Church and these iconographical types are repeated during many centuries. This faithfulness of the painters to older models is revealed clearly on comparing illustrated manuscripts of the same text. To understand fully the character of an illuminated manuscript, one must not take it alone, but together with other illuminated copies of the same text.

1. This work owes much to the kind advice and constructive criticism of M. Gabriel Millet, Professor of Byzantine Art at the Collège de France and at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, and I wish to express to him my deepest gratitude. I am indebted to M. V. Draghiceanu, Director of the Department of Fine Arts of Roumania, for his courtesy in allowing me to study at length and photograph the Slavonic manuscripts of the Paris exhibition of Roumanian art, and also to M. Tzigara-Samurcas, Director of the Museum of National Art in Bucarest, for granting me the same permission when the exhibition was transferred to Geneva. I am grateful to Dr. Walter W. S. Cook for many courtesies shown to me during this work; to M. J. D. Stefanescu, professor in Bucarest, for very valuable information given to me on Roumanian art and for his permission to reproduce some of his photographs; to Mrs. G. Rodionoff and to Mrs. P. Lemerle for translating from the Russian Pokrovskij's study of the Elisavetgrad Gospel and the description of Curzon 153 in M. Sirkou's catalogue; to M. Nandris and to M. Manescu for their translation of passages from Roumanian books.

The following study would not have been possible if it had not been for the courtesy of the Frick Art Reference

Library, of New York City, since all the reproductions of the two Slavonic manuscripts of the Roumanian exhibition which form the subject of this paper were made especially by this institution. Although I have reproduced herewith only a selection of the miniatures, all the illuminated pages of these manuscripts were photographed under my direction, and the photographic plates, which are the property of the Frick Art Reference Library, have been temporarily deposited with the Collection Chrétienne et Byzantine de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, in Paris, where there is a complete set of prints. A complete set can also be consulted at the Frick Art Reference Library, in New York.

I also wish to express my gratitude to Mr. O. M. Dalton, Curator of the Department of Mediaeval Antiquities of the British Museum, for his courtesy in procuring for me the photographs of the Bulgarian Gospel of the British Museum, Curzon 153. I have been able to consult a number of photographs of other miniatures of this manuscript, which M. Doucet had had made for M. Millet and which were kindly lent to me by M. Millet.

2. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1916, p. 2 (Antirrheticus, III, 5; Migne, t. 100, col. 61).

Kondakov was the first to grasp this fact and to apply to Byzantine illustrated manuscripts the method used by philologists in the critical study of the texts. In his history of Byzantine art he has grouped the manuscripts not according to the time in which they were illustrated, but according to their subject matter.³ Thus all Gospels are examined together, Psalters form another group, Octateuchs still another, and so forth. He has shown in this way how some types were transmitted throughout the centuries, but even more, he has pointed out that there is a distinct evolution in Byzantine art, and that certain features are typical of certain periods.

This same method was applied by Tikkanen in his study of the illustrated Psalters, and more recently, on a much larger scale, by M. Millet, who has used it not merely for a limited group of manuscripts, but for the study of important iconographical themes, taking his examples from all the fields of the artistic activity of the Byzantine empire.⁴ His minute and penetrating analysis showed that behind the apparent uniformity of types there are numerous variants which are characteristic of a definite region or period.

This philological method, which, at first glance, may seem tedious or may lead one to think that manuscripts of a later period are considered as mere copies of older models, tends, in reality, to bring to light the character of the art of different centuries, or schools, and the originality, however small, of the artists. For, in limiting clearly the part in each manuscript that may be traced back to the prototype, one reveals at the same time all modifications and all new elements introduced by the artist.

The illustrated manuscripts of any certain group are more or less similar. In some cases, such as the liturgical editions of the Homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzen, it is not easy to find the connecting link. These manuscripts, containing a selection of sixteen sermons arranged in the order of the days on which they were read, all belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They can be divided into two groups: some have only a frontispiece or a vignette at the beginning of each sermon; others have, in addition, miniatures intercalated in the text. Each group is connected with one of the ninth century manuscripts containing all the sermons: Paris gr. 510 and the Ambrosianus 49-50. There is however a fairly great difference between the manuscripts composing one group.⁵

A more homogeneous group is formed by the Psalters with marginal illustrations, called by Tikkanen the monastic-theological group.

We have three copies of the ninth century. The best known of these is now in the Historical Museum of Moscow; it is usually called the Chludov Psalter from the name of its former owner. It is the most complete, though unfortunately some of the miniatures have been retouched. The other two are the Pantocrator no. 61 on Mount Athos, and a very much damaged fragment at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris gr. 20. The other copies date from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. The Psalter of the British Museum (add. 19352) was written in 1066 by Theodore of Caesarea for Michael, abbot of the Monastery of St. John of Studium in Constantinople. The Barberini Psalter, now in the Vatican, was probably written in the twelfth century for an unknown emperor,

3. N. P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures*. Edition originale publiée par l'auteur sur la traduction de M. Trawinski, 2 vols., Paris, 1886-1891.

4. J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, I, *Die Psalter illustration in der Kunstgeschichte*, Helsingfors, 1895; G. Millet, *op. cit.*

5. G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, pp. 243-247.

whose portrait is seen on the first page. The Hamilton Psalter, in Berlin, is of the thirteenth century and there is a Slavonic copy, written in Kiev in 1397. This last-named Psalter has served as a model for a number of later Slavonic manuscripts.

These Psalters all belong to the same family, but they are far from being servile copies of one another. They differ first of all in style. The first three, the ninth century group, are rather realistic. There is a great deal of life, movement, and expression in the drawings, done evidently by skilful hands. In the other manuscripts the Byzantine element is much more marked. The figures are more elongated, freedom of movement gives place to rigidity, but the execution becomes at the same time more elegant. The faces, with hard, clear-cut features, are rather stern in expression.⁶ The manuscripts differ also in the choice of subjects. Even in the three ninth century copies we do not always find a similar composition illustrating the same psalm. For instance, opposite psalm 33 the artist of the Chludov Psalter has placed the Feeding of the Five Thousand, while in the Pantocrator Psalter we find the Communion of the Apostles.⁷ There is a certain evolution in the entire illustration. In the older manuscripts the greater number of miniatures illustrate the facts mentioned in the Psalms, while in the later ones a preference is given to the allusions to passages of Old Testament story and prophecies.⁸ Thus "the direct illustration of the text, whether concrete or abstract, gives place to the iconographical image."⁹

An even more compact group is formed by an eleventh century Gospel, Paris gr. 74, and its four Slavonic parallels. Two of the four, Curzon 153 and the Elisavetgrad Gospel were already known. We had the good fortune of discovering at the exhibition of Roumanian art held in Paris in the summer of 1925 two others dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is this discovery which suggested the present study.

The differences between the five manuscripts are very slight and only in matters of detail; the entire illustration of Paris 74 has passed on to the seventeenth century with amazing faithfulness. If we should compare the group of Psalters and that of the Gospels with similar examples in literature, we could say that the former resemble some lives of saints, writings such as the *Historia Ecclesiastici*, in which the text underwent important changes at the hands of the copyists, while the latter resemble texts which remained intact, with only slight variations.

This group of Gospels, so closely connected with one another, offers an excellent opportunity of applying the comparative method in a limited field. Our purpose has been, therefore, not so much a study of the illustration itself as a classification of the manuscripts. By a minute comparison of all the miniatures, we have tried to find out the exact relationship between the different copies and Paris 74. We have attempted to show the character of each manuscript, to see what has remained of the original redaction and what alterations have been made. By comparing these variations with similar examples taken from other manuscripts or other paintings in general, we have tried to see whether they are due to influences of time and place or whether they are merely erroneous copies.

The interest of such a study would have been slight, however, had we not had to deal with an important cycle of miniatures, completely illustrating each of the four Gospels. An extensive narrative cycle of the evangelical story may be traced back to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. It could be seen in the churches; St. John

6. J. J. Tikkanen, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

7. G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 227.

8. G. Millet, *Recherches . . .*, p. 556.

9. G. Millet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 227.

Damascene recalls a great number of subjects which were supposed to have been executed by the order of the emperor Constantine. The descriptions of the mosaics of St. Sergius of Gaza bear witness to a very full illustration of the Gospel scenes as also do those of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, if they can be attributed with certitude to the sixth century.¹⁰ Such a cycle could also be found in manuscripts. The patriarch Nicephoros certainly refers to these when he speaks of very ancient manuscripts in which were inscribed, side by side, the "spoken word" and the "painted word" so that the painting gave the same account as the text.¹¹

Unfortunately, none of the extensively illustrated Gospels of the fifth or sixth centuries have come down to us. The manuscripts which chance has preserved, such as the Gospel of Rossano or the Gospel of Rabula, have but a limited number of miniatures. We can however form an idea of these richly illustrated manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth century copies. These can be divided into two main groups. In some manuscripts the artists illustrated the Gospel of St. Matthew completely and chose in the other three Gospels passages that are not to be found in St. Matthew. Such are, for instance, two Tetraevangelia of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris gr. 115 and Copte 13. In other manuscripts there is a complete cycle of miniatures for each of the four Gospels.¹² The best known of these are the above-mentioned Paris 74, of the eleventh century, and a twelfth century Tetraevangelia in the Laurentian Library, Laur. VI, 23. In both of them we can find, amid later alterations, traces of a very old redaction, and M. Millet has shown that each one of them represents a different tradition. Paris 74, with its miniatures which resemble the mosaics of St. Sergius of Gaza as described by Choricus, represents the Antiochene redaction. There are also numerous points of contact between the miniatures of Paris 74 and those of manuscripts which belong clearly to the Syro-Palestinian regions. Laur. VI, 23, on the other hand, the miniatures of which are so similar to the mosaics of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople as described by Mesarites, represents the redaction of Alexandria-Constantinople.¹³

The eleventh century Tetraevangelia, Paris gr. 74, is very closely connected with the Georgian Gospel of Gelat. Another Georgian Gospel, that of Djroutchi, belongs to the same group, perhaps also the manuscript of Martvili, of which very little is yet known. The Gospel of Gelat seems to copy sometimes a prototype which follows the text more closely than Paris 74, and which has fewer repetitions.¹⁴ It is to be regretted that the Georgian Gospels are not entirely reproduced, for their comparison with Paris 74 would throw more light on the question of the origin of this cycle of miniatures.

This study will show the manner in which Paris 74 has been transformed by the Slavs. It will further demonstrate that not all the Slavonic copies are derived from Paris 74 but that some of them come from a variant of this manuscript.

The two Slavonic Gospels that were in the exhibition of Roumanian art belong to the monastery of Sucevitza in Moldavia (Bukowina). We read about them for the first time

10. G. Millet, *Recherches* . . . , p. 15.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 568-570.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 588 f. For the Gospel of Gelat see also

N. Pokrovskij, *Description of the Miniatures of the Gospel of Gelat*, in *Memoirs of the Section for Russian-Slavic Archaeology of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, IV (in Russian); for the Gospel of Djroutchi see G. Millet, *Recherches* . . . , pp. 712-714.

in Bishop Melchisedec's articles on the monasteries of Bukowina.¹⁵ A few years later, in 1892-1893, Kozak gives a better description.¹⁶ But neither of these scholars studied the illustration, they merely mention in passing that the miniatures are very numerous.

The older of these two manuscripts¹⁷ is written on paper. It has a silver-gilt binding with the representation of the Descent of Christ into Hell on the front, and on the back the figure of St. Nicholas, clothed as a bishop and seated upon a throne. Underneath has been engraved in Slavonic the following inscription:

"Of this Tetraevangelia Io. Jeremiah Movila, voevod, renewed the binding in the year 7113 (1605 A. D.) on August 25th."¹⁸

While the manuscript itself is not dated, we can tell when it was copied for it contains portraits of the princes by whose orders this was done. On folio 86 v., at the end of the Gospel of St. Matthew, we see the evangelist standing opposite an old man and a boy clothed in rich brocades and wearing a crown. Their names are written above their heads: "Io. Alexander, voevod" and "Io. Mihnea, voevod." The portrait of Alexander appears again on folio 302 v., at the end of the Gospel of St. John, and that of Mihnea on folios 161 and 284 v., at the end of the other two Gospels. Of all the princes who reigned in Wallachia or Moldavia there is only one Alexander whose son was called Mihnea, namely Alexander II, son of Mihnea the Wicked and grandson of Radu, who reigned in Wallachia from 1568 to 1577. He had married a Levantine called Ecaterina, the daughter of a Greek from Chios and a Catholic woman from Pera, a suburb of Constantinople. His only son, Mihnea, afterwards known as Mihnea "the Turk," was a few years old when Alexander ascended the throne.¹⁹ In the manuscript Mihnea is represented as a child, so it must have been copied shortly after 1568. It does not seem to have remained long in Wallachia, since in 1605 the Moldavian prince Jeremiah Movila had the binding renewed. It was probably carried off with other spoils of war when Jeremiah invaded this principality in order to place upon the throne his own brother, Simeon.²⁰ The monastery of Sucevitza owns a few other Wallachian manuscripts given by this same prince.²¹

This Tetraevangelia of Alexander II (Sucev. 23) has come down to us in a very bad condition. It seems to have remained a long time in a damp place; the paper is now yellow and very brittle and a fine layer of mold, resembling white dust, covers the pages. In some places, especially toward the end of the manuscript, this layer is thicker and the pages stick together. In the first folios the writing of one page has passed onto the one opposite, as if the book had been closed before the ink had had time to dry. Some of the folios are quite loose, others are half torn. The top and bottom of these have been reinforced with heavier paper and a strip has also been pasted along the inner margin, but the work has not been done very carefully so that some pages stick together along this inner edge.

15. Episcop Melchisedec, *A Visit to Some Monasteries and Old Churches in Bukowina*, in Tocilescu, *Review of History, Archaeology, and Philology*, I, pp. 245-281; II, pp. 47-54 (in Roumanian).

16. E. A. Kozak, *Resultate meiner Forschungen im Kloster Sucavica (in der Bukowina)*, *Historische epigraphische und bibliographische Beiträge*, in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, Berlin, 1892, XIV, pp. 235-255; 1893, XV, pp. 161-204.

17. No. 23/1863 of the inventory and no. 134 of the catalogue of the Paris exhibition, *Exposition de l'art*

roumain ancien et moderne: Catalogue des oeuvres exposées, Paris, 1925, p. 57.

18. I am indebted to M. Nandris for the translation of this inscription.

19. N. Jorga, *Documents for Roumanian History*, in *Harmuzaki*, XI, pp. XVII f. (in Roumanian).

20. N. Jorga and G. Bals, *L'art roumain du XIVe au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1922, pp. 143 f.

21. Episcop Melchisedec, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

The folios do not follow each other in their proper order. According to Kozak we should have: Matthew: folios 2-84 v., 86, 89, 91, 111-114 v., 119-133 v.; Mark: folios 85-85 v., 87-88 v., 90, 92-110 v., 115-118 v., 134-159 v., 170; Luke: 160-169 v., 171-228 v., 230-242 v., 291-293; John: 229, 243-290 v., 294-306 v., 311-312 v.; the Synaxarium: folios 307-310 v., 313-318 v.²² The sequence is however even less accurate than this statement would lead us to suppose. For instance, in the Gospel of St. John we see first of all Christ's Agony in the Garden, the Betrayal, the Last Supper, Christ before Pontius Pilate and Herod, the Raising of Lazarus, the Healing of the Blind Man, and only then the very first chapters of the Gospel. I give in a footnote the correct order of the illuminated folios; this will convey some idea of the haphazard way in which they follow one another.²³ A close examination of the manuscript has given no clue as to the time when the pages were thus disarranged. The metal binding is no longer attached to the manuscript. According to Kozak folios 232 and 243 were added at the time of Jeremiah Movila, because the writing resembles that of the Tetraevangelia written during the reign of this prince.²⁴ If this is correct, it would follow that Jeremiah not only had the binding renewed but also attended to the manuscript itself. It does not seem likely that the disorder, if it already existed at that time, would have been left uncorrected by him; we may therefore assume that it came about later than 1605.

There are at present three hundred and ten folios, measuring $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches.²⁵ The writing is a fine uncial and there are nineteen or twenty lines on the pages that have no miniatures. The written part of the page measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The text of the Gospels is divided into pericopes, or lessons read during the liturgy. The opening sentence which is often added by the priest is introduced in the text and written in red ink. The title of the Gospel of St. Matthew is written in gold letters, those of the other Gospels are in red ink, the text itself is always in black ink. In the margin there are numbers referring to the liturgical calendar.

I have been able to count three hundred and thirty-one miniatures.²⁶ At the beginning of each Gospel there is a vignette with the portrait of the evangelist writing, at the end

22. E. A. Kozak, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 189.

23. *Matthew*: folios 1, 2, 8, 7, 6, 5, 9-19, 24, 23, 22, 21, 25-28, 31, 29, 36, 40, 111, 113, 39, 124, 120, 38, 37, 43, 44, 48, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 55, 54, 53, 64, 63, 61, 68-83, 91, 89, 86; *Mark*: 85, 84, 90, 92-94, 98, 96, 95, 99, 97, 100, 102, 106, 105, 104, 103, 108, 109, 118, 116, 115, 125, 129, 128, 127, 131-133, 138, 136, 135, 139, 140-143, 149, 148, 147, 146, 145, 144, 150, 161; *Luke*: 153-155, 162, 160, 159, 158, 156, 163-165, 171, 169, 168, 173, 174, 166, 172, 175-177, 183, 181, 180, 188, 178, 184-186, 179, 189, 193, 192, 191, 190, 195, 196, 198, 204, 203, 201, 200, 205-209, 214, 212, 210, 215, 216, 221, 222, 225, 227, 226, 228-233, 282-284; *John*: 285-289, 274-281, 268-273, 258, 252, 263, 264, 253-257, 242, 244, 245, 247, 235-241, 292, 291, 290, 293, 295-297, 303, 302.

24. E. A. Kozak, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 189.

25. According to Kozak (*op. cit.*, p. 188) there are 318 folios. The pages of the manuscript had no numbers. I counted and numbered them and found only 310 folios, as stated above. If Kozak's estimate is correct, eight folios have been lost since the time he studied the manu-

script. This may have happened very easily since there are a number of loose leaves; moreover the list of the miniatures indicates that several folios are missing.

26. It seems impossible that in addition to the vignette at the beginning of each Gospel and the evangelist and portraits of the donors at the end, there should have been 449 miniatures (118 more than my estimate), as Kozak states in his article (*op. cit.*, p. 189), since at that time there were only eight more folios than at present. Besides, the number given by Kozak exceeds by far the number of miniatures in any one of the other manuscripts of this group, even in Paris 74 and Curzon 153, which are two of the most complete. I do not know what Kozak considers as one miniature; in making my estimate I counted each strip or frieze as one miniature. Sometimes two or more strips are placed one above another, but there is always a line of separation between them. I considered, for instance, the miniatures illustrating the Preaching of the Disciples on folio 29 v. as three distinct miniatures. (For the corresponding composition in Paris 74, see H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle*, Paris, 1908, pls. 21, 22 a). Kozak has apparently made a

the evangelist is seen standing opposite one of the princes, Alexander or Mihnea, or opposite them both. All the other miniatures are introduced in the text, their average height is two inches, and they correspond in width to the lines of the text. Only the two representations of the Last Judgment are much larger. Sometimes two or three miniatures are placed immediately above one another and thus give the impression of greater height than the average.

The colors have suffered greatly from dampness; they are dull and partly effaced. Some miniatures, however, are in a better condition and give us an idea of what the manuscript was in its original state. The tints are vivid and pleasing to the eye; red and green predominate, as is customary in most manuscripts of the late period. A grayish blue, brown, and violet are also frequently used. The nimbus and the lines indicating the folds of the garments are in gold. There is no frame around the miniatures nor have they a colored background. The names of some of the persons are inscribed, but the subject of the miniature is never indicated.

The second Tetraevangelia of Sucevitza²⁷ is a very fine manuscript written on parchment and in perfect condition. The binding is in silver-gilt. The Descent of Christ into Hell is again represented on the front, and on the back we find the Baptism and beneath it in Slavonic the following inscription:

"This Tetraevangelia was made with right good will and bound by Io. Jeremiah Movila, voevod, by his lady Elizabeth and by their son Io. Constantin, voevod, and they offered it in memory of themselves to their newly built monastery named Sucevitza, where is the church of the Resurrection of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the year 7115 (1607 A. D.) on March 25th."²⁸

Jeremiah Movila, prince of Moldavia, reigned from the month of August, 1595, until July 10th, 1606.²⁹ The binding was therefore finished after his death, but the manuscript itself must have been written in his lifetime since we find his portrait at the end of the Gospel of St. John, on folio 296.

This Tetraevangelia is composed of three hundred and thirteen folios of parchment, each measuring $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The first folio and the last two are blank. The

mistake in his calculations or else there is a typographical error.

The following miniatures are lacking in this manuscript as compared with Paris 74; some of them are probably on the pages stuck together. The numbers in parentheses refer to the miniatures of Paris 74 in M. Omont's book. *Matthew*: Imprisonment, Death, and Burial of St. John the Baptist (pl. 25); the soldiers of the governor mock Jesus (pl. 49 b); Crucifixion, the graves open (pl. 51); *Mark*: Christ foretells the persecutions of His followers and the calamities which will happen to the Jews (pl. 80); Christ before Pilate (pl. 86 a); *Luke*: healing of the man with the withered hand (pl. 104 b); Christ sends out His disciples two by two to preach the Gospel (pl. 113 b); healing of the blind man of Jericho (pl. 128 b); Christ dines at the house of Zaccheus, the publican (pl. 129 a); Christ tells His disciples to beware of the scribes (pl. 131 a); the widow's mite (pl. 131 b); Christ foretells the destruction of Jerusalem (pl. 132); Christ appears to the apostles (pl. 141 b); *John*: Christ goes up into a mountain with His disciples (pl. 153 a); the feeding of the Five Thousand

(pl. 153 b); Christ in the Temple (pl. 157 b); the pharisees are angry that their officers did not seize Jesus and hide Nicodemus for taking His part (pl. 157 c); Christ teaches in the temple (pl. 158 a); Christ speaking to the Jews (pl. 158 b); the Jews want to stone Jesus (pl. 159 a); the Jews cast the blind man out of the synagogue (pl. 161 b); Christ preaching (pl. 162 a, b); Christ's entry into Jerusalem (pl. 166 b); Judas receives the silver for the betrayal (pl. 169 b); Christ speaking to His disciples (pl. 170 a); the holy women at the sepulcher (pl. 182 a); Christ appears to the disciples, Simon Peter draws the net full of great fish (pl. 185 b); Christ and His disciples (pl. 186 b).

27. No. 24/1863 of the inventory and no. 135 of the catalogue of the Paris exhibition.

28. This inscription was kindly copied and translated by M. Nandris, to whom I am also indebted for information concerning the biographies of the evangelists, mentioned below.

29. N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Rumänischen Volkes, in Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen*, Gotha, 1905, II, p. 536.

writing is a very fine uncial and there are twenty lines on each page. The folios follow each other in good order. Each book of the Gospels is preceded by an index of the chapters and by a biography of the evangelist. This is a translation of passages taken from the writings of Theophylactus, archbishop of Ochrida. At the end of the manuscript we have the synaxarium and the liturgical calendar.

The Gospels are again divided into lessons, but the title of each lesson is written in gold letters in the top or bottom margin. The numbers referring to the calendar and the title of each Gospel are also in gold. The text itself is written in black ink.

This manuscript is illustrated in the same way as the preceding Tetraevangelia, with the difference that the portraits at the end of the first three Gospels are lacking and, on the other hand, some full-page ornaments not in the Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) have been added. There are three hundred and fifty-five miniatures altogether.³⁰ Those introduced into the text vary in height from two to two and a half inches.

It is difficult to admit, even before we enter into minute comparisons, that these sixteenth and seventeenth century Tetraevangelia can be direct copies of Paris 74. There must have existed, between them and the eleventh century model, quite a number of intermediaries, of which the latest were undoubtedly Slavonic Gospels, written in one of the Balkan states which had come earlier under the influence of Byzantine art. We are fortunate enough to have the two Slavonic copies mentioned above: Curzon 153 and the Gospel of Elisavetgrad.

The Tetraevangelia of the British Museum (Curzon 153) was brought to England in 1839 by the Hon. Robert Curzon, who had found it in the monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos. He has left the following charming account of his discovery. "This manuscript was full of illuminations from beginning to end, I had seen no book like it anywhere in the Levant. I almost tumbled off the steps on which I was perched on the discovery of so extraordinary a volume. I saw that these books were taken care of, so I did not much like to ask whether they would part with them; more especially as the community was evidently a prosperous one, and had no need to sell any of their goods.

"After walking about the monastery with the monks, as I was going away the agoumenos said he wished he had anything which he could present to me as a memorial of my visit to the convent of St. Paul. On this a brisk fire of reciprocal compliments ensued, and I observed that I should like to take a book. 'Oh! by all means!' he said, 'we make no use of the old books, and I should be glad if you would accept one.' We returned to the library, and the agoumenos took out one at hazard as you might take a brick or a stone out of a pile, and presented it to me. Quoth I, 'If you don't care what book it is that you are so good as to give me, let me take one which pleases me,' and so saying I took down the

30. The following miniatures are lacking in this manuscript as compared with Paris 74; the numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding miniatures of the latter in M. Omont's book. *Matthew*: the healing of two blind men (pl. 34 a); Jesus sends two of His disciples to fetch an ass (pl. 34 b); Jesus and His disciples go to Gethsemane (pl. 44); Christ before Pilate (pl. 47 b); Crucifixion (pl. 52 a); portrait of the donor and the evangelist (pl. 56 b); *Mark*: Christ and His disciples (pl. 80); Last Judgment (pl. 81); Christ praying in the garden of Gethsemane (pl. 83 b); descent of Christ into Hell (pl. 89 a); portrait of the donor and the evangelist (pl. 91); *Luke*: an angel leads the shepherds (pl. 97 b); Jesus preaches to His

disciples (pl. 105 b); He raises from the dead the widow's son at Nain (pl. 107 b); the people of the country of the Gadarenes receive Jesus (pl. 111 a); Jesus blesses the little children (pl. 113 a); He sends messengers to a village of the Samaritans (pl. 113 b); He teaches the lawyer how to attain eternal life (pl. 115 b); He rebukes the Pharisees (pl. 118 b); the birds, that neither sow nor reap (pl. 120 a); parable of the lost piece of silver (pl. 124 b); Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross, Ascension, portrait of the donor and the evangelist (these miniatures are also lacking in Paris 74); *John*: Christ speaks to the people who have followed Him to Capernaum (pl. 154 b).

illuminated folio of the Bulgarian Gospels, and I could hardly believe I was awake when the agoumenos gave it into my hands. Perhaps the greatest piece of impertinence of which I was ever guilty, was when I asked to buy another, but that, they insisted upon giving me also; so I took the other two copies of the Gospels mentioned above, all three as free-will gifts. I felt almost ashamed at accepting these two last books; but who could resist it, knowing that they were utterly valueless to the monks, and were not saleable in the bazaar at Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonica, or any neighbouring city? However before I went away, as a salvo to my conscience I gave some money to the church."³¹

This richly illuminated Tetraevangelia was written in 1356 by the order of the Bulgarian czar, John Alexander, a patron of the arts.³² The library of the Vatican holds one other precious manuscript written at the same time, the chronicles of John Manasses (Slav. no. 2), and Strzygowski attributes to the reign of this same prince the Bulgarian Psalter of the Historical Museum of Moscow.³³

We find a short notice of the Tetraevangelia in the catalogue of the Curzon library.³⁴ There is a fairly minute description of it in the articles which Scholvin has devoted to the text,³⁵ and a better one in Sirkou's catalogue of the Slavonic and Russian manuscripts of the British Museum.³⁶ But it is M. Millet who for the first time has shown the importance of the miniatures and pointed out their similarity with those of Paris 74.³⁷

The Curzon 153 is written on parchment folios measuring 13 inches by 9½ inches. There are two hundred and seventy-five folios according to Sirkou, or two hundred and eighty-six according to Scholvin. Folio 75 is missing; the part of the text which is lacking, Matthew, XXV, 39-46, is not long enough to have covered entirely both sides of the folio; there must have been a fairly large miniature, and this was most probably the Last Judgment, which is represented in the corresponding passage of the other manuscripts.³⁸

There are three hundred and sixty-nine miniatures, and the illustration follows the same principles as in the Wallachian manuscript (Sucev. 23). We have though, in Curzon 153, full-page portraits of the emperor and his family besides those of the emperor and the evangelist at the end of each Gospel. On folio 2 v. we find the czar, John Alexander, his wife, Theodora, and their two sons, John Asen and John Sisman. On the opposite page, folio 3, are depicted the three daughters of the czar and his son-in-law, Constantin.³⁹

Each book of the Gospels is preceded by an index of the chapters. At the end of the manuscript we find the menologium and the synaxarium. The text of the Gospels is divided into lessons, and there are numbers in the margin referring to the synaxarium.

This Tetraevangelia did not remain long in its own country. When the Turks invaded Bulgaria and conquered it in 1393, the manuscript was carried to Roumania, the only

31. The Hon. Robert Curzon, *A visit to Monasteries in the Levant*, New York, 1849, pp. 367 f.

32. Three treatises of a theological character were copied by the orders of this same prince. His spiritual adviser, St. Theodosius of Trnovo, was the master of a school of literary monks. Cf. William Miller, *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, IV, pp. 549 f.

33. J. Strzygowski, *Die miniaturen des serbischen Psalters der königl. Hof und Staatsbibliothek in München*, in *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Vienna, 1906, LII, pp. 124-128.

34. *Catalogue of materials, early writings on tablets and stones, rolled and other manuscripts and oriental manuscript books in the library of the Honourable Robert Curzon at Parham in the county of Sussex*, London, 1849, pp. 32 f., 42 f.

35. R. Scholvin, *Einleitung in das Johann Alexander Evangelium*, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, VII, pp. 1-56, 161-221.

36. P. A. Sirkou, *The Slavonic and Russian manuscripts of the British Museum in London* (in Russian).

37. G. Millet, *Recherches . . .*, pp. 8, 591.

38. R. Scholvin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 9; P. A. Sirkou, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 f.

Balkan state which had escaped the Turkish yoke. An inscription on folio 5 tells us that it was in private hands and that the Moldavian prince Alexander bought it.⁴⁰ This prince has been identified by historians with Alexander the Good, who reigned from 1402 to 1432.⁴¹ Like the other Alexander, by whose orders this manuscript had been written, this prince was a patron of the arts. Several manuscripts written during his reign have come down to us; one of the most important is the Tetraevangelia of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, recently published by M. Bianu.⁴²

We do not know how long Curzon 153 remained in Moldavia nor how it came to the monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos. The two inscriptions at the end of the manuscript throw no light on the subject.⁴³ It is very likely that it was sent as a gift by one of the Moldavian princes. After the fall of Constantinople and the conquest of the greater part of the Balkans by the Turks, the Moldavian and Wallachian princes were the patrons of the Holy Mountain, sending numerous gifts and giving large sums of money to the various monasteries.

The second of the two early Slavonic Tetraevangelia is in the small town of Elisavetgrad in Russia, in the church called Pokrovski Sobor. This manuscript has been described and studied by the Russian scholar Pokrovskij in his book on the iconography of the Gospels. In his introduction he compares it with the Greek Gospel, Paris 74, and his minute analysis is very helpful.⁴⁴

Pokrovskij attributes this manuscript to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It could not have been written earlier because the synaxarium contains the names of two saints of the fourteenth century; they are Simeon and Sava; the former is the Serbian czar Nemanja, who became a monk and took the name of Simeon; the latter is his son, prince Sava, who also took monastic orders and was known as Archbishop Sava.⁴⁵ The writing of the text is a specimen of the fourteenth-fifteenth century uncial. This manuscript is illustrated in the same manner as the preceding three. Fourteen of the miniatures of Paris 74 are lacking in it; there must therefore be three hundred and fifty-five miniatures.⁴⁶

At first sight, these manuscripts just described seem to have copied with absolute faith-

40. R. Scholvin, *op. cit.*, p. 3; P. A. Sirkou, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

41. R. Scholvin, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

42. *The Slavic Greek Gospel Written in 1429 at the Monastery of Neamtzu in Moldavia*, Bibl. Bodleiana, Oxford, Cod. Graeci 122, in *Documents of Roumanian Art in Old Manuscripts*, edited by Ion Bianu, Bucharest, 1922 (in Roumanian).

43. On the last folio of this manuscript we have in Roumanian the following inscription: "I, Gabriel hierodiasconus, wrote that they may give (?) to Roumanian land, while I was at St. Paul's, and may some one say: God forgive him.—Gabriel hierodiasconus." On the back of the same folio we read: τὸ παρὸν εὐαγγέλιον ἀγιοπαυλῆως διὰ χιλιάδα εἰκοσι . . . Sirkou has imagined that these two sentences are parts of the same inscription, and by placing the Greek one first he translates it as if it meant: "This Gospel, belonging to the monastery of St. Paul . . . I, Gabriel hierodiasconus, wrote in order to send it to Roumanian land, while I was here at St. Paul's and whoever (reads it) let him say, God forgive him." It seems improbable, as Scholvin remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 220),

that a person should have begun writing an inscription in Greek and continued it in Roumanian. It is also difficult to understand why he should have written it on two different pages, especially as he did not have the excuse of lack of space, since the rest of each page is blank. These sentences must be considered as two distinct inscriptions written probably by two different persons. The meaning of neither is quite clear.

44. N. Pokrovskij, *The Gospel in Monuments of Iconography, particularly Byzantine and Russian* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1892, pp. XXII f.

45. C. J. Jirecek, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha, 1911-1918.

46. In addition to the portraits of the donor and the evangelist at the end of each Gospel, the following miniatures are lacking in the Elisavetgrad Gospel, according to Pokrovskij. The numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding miniatures in M. Omont's reproductions of Paris 74. *Matthew*: Jesus and the disciples go to Gethsemane (pl. 44 a); Jesus is brought before Pilate (pl. 47 b); Crucifixion (pl. 52 a); *Mark*: the second representation of Christ's agony in the Garden (pl. 84 b); Descent of Christ



FIG. 4—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Christ Healing the Daughter of Jairus*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 126 r.



FIG. 5—London, British Museum: *Christ Healing the Daughter of Jairus*, from Curzon MS. 153



FIG. 6—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Christ Healing the Daughter of Jairus*, from MS. 24, Fol. 172



FIG. 7—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Christ Healing the Daughter of Jairus*, from MS. 23, Fol. 185 v.



FIG. 8—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Crucifixion*, from MS. 23, Fol. 232 v.



FIG. 9—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Christ Healing the Centurion's Servant and Peter's Wife's Mother*, from MS. 24, Fol. 22 v.

fulness the miniatures of Paris 74, but upon closer examination we notice here and there iconographical divergences, some of which are quite important. Thus one is led to examine the question of how the Slavonic copies are related to one another and also to Paris 74. We can distinguish two groups.

Group A. The photographs of Curzon 153 which I have had at my disposal correspond exactly with the compositions of the Wallachian manuscript (Sucev. 23). Even when the latter differs from Paris 74 it is still identical with Curzon 153; it must therefore be admitted that these two Slavonic Gospels belong to the same family. They are faithful copies of Paris 74, for the divergences, except in one or two cases, are all in matters of detail.

Group B. The Elisavetgrad and the Moldavian Gospels (Sucev. 24) have in common certain typical features which distinguish them from the preceding copies and also from Paris 74. The similarity between them is not so great as that between Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23, but it is quite evident that the Moldavian manuscript is derived from the Elisavetgrad Gospel or some other copy of the same group. The prototype of these two manuscripts does not appear to be Paris 74 but a variant of this, which in some places followed the text of the Gospels more closely.

The manuscripts of the first group help us to fill in the blanks in the illustration of Paris 74, caused by the disappearance of two folios.⁴⁷ The first should have been between folios 161 and 162, for the last lines of folio 161 v. recount the Crucifixion of Christ (Luke, XXIII, 47), while the next page begins with the final words addressed to the Holy Women by the angel guarding the sepulcher (Luke, XXIV, 7). The missing passage has been illustrated in Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23 by a second representation of the Crucifixion, and by the Descent from the Cross, and the Burial of Christ (Figs. 8 and 1). The iconographical types are the same as in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The second missing folio should have come after folio 163. The last verses of the Gospel of St. Luke, chapter XXIV, verses 49 to the end, which we read on folio 164, are added by a later hand and this page has been put in to replace the missing one. The miniatures of the original have not been copied and we should not have known what was represented were it not for

into Hell (pl. 89 a); *Luke*: Jesus preaches to His disciples (pl. 106 a); Raising of the widow's son at Nain (pl. 107 b); Christ commends humility (pl. 113 a); He sends messengers to Samaria (pl. 113 b); He teaches the lawyer how to attain eternal life (pl. 115 a); He rebukes the Pharisees (pl. 118 b); the ravens, that neither sow nor reap (pl. 120 a); parable of the lost piece of silver (pl. 124 b).

In the Hon. Robert Curzon's *Catalogue of material for writing* . . . we find reproductions of the full-page portraits of John Alexander and his family painted at the beginning of Curzon 153 (p. 42), and of the Last Judgment (p. 43). The portraits are better reproduced in Scholvin, *op. cit.*, pls. I and II, and we can get a very good idea of the aspect of the manuscript by the reproduction of folio 91 on pl. III. Two miniatures are reproduced in Millet, *Recherches* . . . , figs. 403 and 603 (for Paris 74, cf. M. Omont's pls. 178 a and 107 b).

The following miniatures of the Elisavetgrad Gospel are reproduced by Pokrovskij (*The Gospel* . . .); the numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding miniatures of Paris 74 in M. Omont's book. Imprisonment of John the Baptist, p. XXIII (pl. 25 a); the feast of Herod and

the decollation of John the Baptist, p. XXIV (pl. 25 b); the flight into Egypt, p. 46 (pl. 96 a); Nativity, p. 57 (pl. 96 b); parable of the rich man and Lazarus, p. 216 (pl. 126 c); Last Judgment, p. 220 (pl. 81); The Betrayal, p. 299 (pl. 172); Flagellation, Christ before Pilate, p. 305 (pls. 176 b, 177 a); Crucifixion, the graves open, p. 328 (pl. 51). This last miniature and the two illustrating the imprisonment of John the Baptist, the feast of Herod and the decollation of John the Baptist are reproduced once more in N. Pokrovskij, *Sketches of the Monuments of Orthodox Iconography and art* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1894, on pages 178, 180, 181. On page 179 we see the miniature representing Jesus talking to the woman of Samaria (pl. 150 b).

47. The folios were torn out before the time of the actual binding and numbering of the pages. This loss does not seem to have been noticed, for I have found no mention of it in any of the existing catalogues, not even in H. Bordier, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1883.

the Slavonic Gospels, Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23. In these two manuscripts we find the Ascension and the portrait of the donor and the evangelist, as at the end of the other three Gospels (Figs. 2 and 3).

By a strange coincidence all these missing miniatures of Paris 74 are also lacking in the Elisavetgrad and the Moldavian Gospels (Sucev. 24).

We do not know whether in the Elisavetgrad Gospel the folios on which these miniatures should have been depicted are intact, but in the Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24) at any rate, there are no missing folios. It is therefore the painter who has neglected to copy these scenes. This intentional omission has no connection with the accidental omission from the Greek manuscript. In other passages of the Moldavian Gospel (Sucev. 24) important themes such as the Crucifixion, the Last Judgment, the Descent of Christ into Hell are left out.⁴⁸

We shall study later the miniatures which enabled me to divide the Slavonic copies into two groups. It is necessary, first of all, to examine, both in the Wallachian and in the Moldavian Gospels, divergences of another order, those which are inherent in any copy, especially when there is a difference of centuries between the latter and the original.

A miniaturist, even when copying faithfully the iconography of his model, may modify the general aspect of the compositions by changing secondary details, by omitting or adding accessories. On the other hand, two miniatures of absolutely identical composition can be quite different in style. Each artist has his own way of feeling and it is almost impossible for a copy to keep the style of the original. One must also take into consideration the variation in technique from one century to another or from one region to another.

When we examine the Wallachian and Moldavian Gospels, we notice that the antique picturesque style has almost entirely disappeared. This is the final stage of an evolution which can be observed in Byzantine art from the fifth century on. In Paris 74 "in the midst of clumsy repetitions, of commonplace formulæ, of recent iconographical types, in an artificial, hurried and superficial work, one can detect the scattered elements of a Hellenistic redaction."⁴⁹ This impoverished copy (Paris 74) of a picturesque cycle still retains some of the typical *motifs* of the antique landscape, such as the tree in the middle of the sacred enclosure, the sacred building, the round tower with a baldachin on top, cities, and in the middle a column bearing a statue, trees—either alone or by a building—which seem to be direct copies from nature. Most of these features have disappeared in the copies. The Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) has sometimes kept the tree in the sacred enclosure, or rather, behind a balustrade, for the antique *motif* has been modified and represented in this manner in Paris 74. But it is a hackneyed copy, absolutely devoid of the charm of the original. We still see the tower with the baldachin, the sacred building, but all the details are no longer understood; they have been repeated mechanically until they have become stereotyped. The incompetence of the artist is especially apparent in the rendering of trees. It is hard to believe that the commonplace tree of the Wallachian Gospel, in the Raising of the Daughter of Jairus (Fig. 7), is a copy of the graceful one overhanging the trellis in Paris 74 (Fig. 4, cf. Figs. 5 and 6). The climbing vines which decorate the background of the miniatures illustrating the Feast of Herod and the Decolla-

48. See above note 30.

49. G. Millet, *Iconographie*, p. 563.



FIG. 10—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Feeding of the Five Thousand*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 29 v.



FIG. 11—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Feeding of the Five Thousand*, from MS. 24, Fol. 42



FIG. 12—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Feeding of the Five Thousand*, from MS. 23, Fol. 124



FIG. 13—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Baptism of Christ*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 6



FIG. 14—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Baptism of Christ*, from MS. 24, Fol. 11



FIG. 15—London, British Museum: *Baptism of Christ*, from Curzon MS. 153



FIG. 16—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Baptism of Christ*, from MS. 23, Fol. 10

tion of St. John the Baptist are left out by the Wallachian artist. He has also omitted to copy the statues on the columns.

There are even fewer accessories of the antique landscape in the Moldavian Gospel (Sucev. 24) and when they appear they are very clumsy and flat copies. The artist of Paris 74 had already made a few alterations; the trees are not always in the enclosure but are sometimes represented on the tops of the buildings. On folio 22 v. of the Moldavian manuscript (Fig. 9) the tower of the model is transformed into a candlestick, above which are three angularly bent trees with branches all joining and forming a tuft. In the miniature below the building has been correctly copied, but the trees are very curious: each trunk forms an angle and the balustrade is a line joining the apexes of these angles. The artist has tried to conventionalize the *motif*.

In Paris 74 the Hellenistic, picturesque style is apparent not only in the accessories of antique landscape, but also in certain compositions, such as the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Fig. 10) and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. Children mingle with the crowd, they climb on trees, run, play, or fight. The Slavonic versions show the children on the trees, cutting palms in Christ's Triumphal Entry, but we do not see them climbing in play, as in the Feeding of the Five Thousand. In the representation of this scene in the Gospel of St. Matthew, the various animated groups of children of Paris 74 have become absolutely lifeless. The Moldavian artist repeats himself in the group of two boys, standing quite still, with arms clasped round each other (Fig. 11). In the Wallachian copy (Sucev. 23) we see only two boys sitting in front of their elders (Fig. 12). All life and movement have disappeared. These changes are in accordance with what we notice generally in Byzantine art whenever we pass from the free and elegant Hellenistic composition to the more rigid Byzantine copies. The difference can be observed in comparing the beautiful tenth century manuscript of St. Gregory Nazianzen of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris gr. 510) with the Tetraevangelia of the Laurentiana (VI, 23) which belongs to the same group of manuscripts, but it is even more apparent in the various copies of the Octateuch. The manuscript of the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, which seems the oldest of the five existing copies of the Octateuch, retains better than the others the character of the Hellenistic redaction.⁵⁰

The allegories also lose their elegance and charm. In the Baptism of Christ in Paris 74 the Jordan flees, overturning his urn (Fig. 13). The Moldavian artist, misunderstanding his model, has placed in the middle of the stream a child clothed in a long tunic, with a shapeless object in his hand (Fig. 14). In Curzon 153 and in the Wallachian manuscript (Sucev. 23) we have a different figure; an old man with a white cloth round his loins, sits in the middle of the stream, with his back turned to Christ (Figs. 15 and 16). Here the charming silhouette of Paris 74 has been replaced by the more traditional type.⁵¹

These few instances show us how all that was picturesque, that had some charm, has disappeared or has been stereotyped. But if there is no longer any vestige of antique grace, a new element at least has been introduced into one of the manuscripts, namely, the Moldavian. The compositions have assumed a new aspect, the artist has a frankly decorative aim. Trees are introduced wherever there is an empty space in the miniature. Their

50. G. Millet, *L'octateuque byzantin, d'après une publication de l'Institut russe de Constantinople*, in *Revue archéologique*, 1910, II, pp. 73-74.

51. Paris 74, fol. 6 (cf. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 9 a); Sucev. 23, fol. 10; Sucev. 24, fol. 11.

forms are varied but there is no attempt to imitate nature; it would seem that the sole desire of the artist is to find pleasing decorative patterns. Sometimes the trees form an interwoven, symmetrical design; at other times the leaves and branches are curiously shaped or have been conventionalized (as in Figs. 6 and 9). The rocks also are more numerous, and they are always extremely jagged. The prototype must have been the "step-faced rock," dear to Byzantine art, but here it has been grossly exaggerated. The architectural background, too, is much richer; the buildings are not only more numerous but also more complex in shape, they often have a number of small turrets. The artist has also introduced a greater number of secondary figures. In short, all the accessory elements of the composition have been increased.

These innovations are not all due to the Moldavian artist. Some may have existed in his manuscript model; at any rate they could be seen in contemporary works of art. On Moldavian icons, for instance, we find trees and houses of the same shape. The artist of the Moldavian Gospel (Sucev. 24) has merely introduced into some of the compositions of Paris 74 the current *motifs* of his time. His object has been to fill in the blanks in such a way as to render the composition more decorative. This tendency is very marked in one of the representations of the Crucifixion (cf. Figs. 17 and 18). The iconography of the miniature on folio 83 is the same in its main lines as that of Paris 74, but there are a few minor differences which change the general aspect. In the Moldavian Gospel the people standing in the sepulchers are more numerous, and trees and rocks fill in the background. The personifications of the Church and the Synagogue, the one led toward Christ, the other driven away from Him by an angel, have been placed quite close to the cross, and the two angels flying above it are now near the ends of the arms.⁵² The composition is thus much more compact, there are no blanks. The general effect is not unpleasant, but the impression produced by this miniature is quite different from that of Paris 74. It no longer arouses any emotion, the mind and attention are distracted from the central figure of Christ by all those who surround Him, while in Paris 74 the cross, rising clear in the middle of the picture, dominates the entire composition and makes quite a poignant appeal.

One must not be induced to think by this example that the Moldavian artist has not tried to move the spectator. In other miniatures he has emphasized the gestures expressing grief. In the Descent from the Cross (Fig. 19) one of the Holy Women raises her arms to show her despair, another tears her hair. We can easily recognize the attitudes so typical and frequent in eastern art from the fourteenth century on, but it is interesting to note that while the artist has given to the secondary figures the attitudes common in contemporary work, he has nevertheless retained the main composition of Paris 74, which is so different from the later type of the Descent from the Cross.

The influence of the new art of the fourteenth century is also apparent in the rendering of the body of Christ on the cross. In Paris 74 the body is almost straight (Fig. 17); in the Moldavian Gospel (Figs. 18 and 37) it has a pronounced curve, especially on folio 82 v. This is a characteristic feature of the Slav and Macedonian schools of painting, while

52. Some of these changes can already be noticed in the corresponding miniature of the Elisavetgrad Gospel, of which there is fortunately a reproduction in Pokrovskij's book (*The Gospel . . .*, p. 328). The weeping angels are at the ends of the arms of the cross, but not very close to it; they were thus displaced, probably for lack of space, above

the cross, for the top of the cross is also much shorter. The figure of the Church is quite close to the cross in the Elisavetgrad Gospel and receives in a bowl the blood coming out of the pierced side of Christ, but the figure of the Synagogue and all the remaining parts of the composition are exactly as in Paris 74.



FIG. 17—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Crucifixion*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 59



FIG. 18—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Crucifixion*, from MS. 24, Fol. 83



FIG. 19—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Descent from the Cross and Entombment*, from MS. 24, Fol. 84



FIG. 20—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Nativity, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 4



FIG. 21—Sucevitza, Monastery: Nativity, from MS. 24, Fol. 8 v.



FIG. 22—Sucevitza, Monastery: Nativity, from MS. 23, Fol. 6

the Cretan painters, whose works can be seen on Mount Athos, revert to the reserve and dignity of the Byzantine type.⁵³

We see by the preceding examples that the aspect of the composition of Paris 74 is modified in a different way in each of these two Slavonic parallels. Both have left out the typical Hellenistic *motifs*, but the change stops there with the Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) so that this manuscript is simpler and more sober than the Greek model. In the Moldavian copy (Sucev. 24), however, the background is more ornate and tends to a decorative effect, simplicity of attitude has given place at times to pathos.

Both of these manuscripts differ greatly from Paris 74 in style. The entire reproduction of the latter has made all students of Byzantine art familiar with its slender, elegant figures, but the reproductions cannot render the charm of the coloring. Those delicate tints, where red, pink, and blue predominate, where the greens and browns so common in manuscripts of the late period are almost entirely lacking, have kept all their freshness. So great is their appeal that one forgets the imperfections of the drawing and the monotony of the composition. The coloring of the draperies is done in flat tints, the folds are marked with very fine gold lines, and the shadows by oblique gold lines. This is a legacy of the Oriental technique in flat tints without any relief. When the garments are gilded, brown or dark red lines indicate the folds. In spite of the small dimensions of the figures, the faces are drawn with great care and are very expressive. They are usually a very dark brown; they are modeled and the features are indicated by high lights and shadows. The bodies are drawn with much less care and without modeling.

The Byzantine technique can be distinguished from that of ancient art by the coloring. In ancient art the shadows are always done in red and only for very young figures are greenish tints used, while in Byzantine art all shadows are done in green. We find in Paris 74 a trace of the ancient manner, for the bodies of the demoniacs and the persons who are being baptized in the Jordan are a fairly dark brown. Green is used for the bodies of Christ and the two thieves on the cross to show that they are dead. There is always a brush stroke in red along the sides of the bodies.

The drawing of the two Slavonic Gospels (especially of Sucev. 23) is very inferior to that of the Paris manuscript. The proportions of the bodies are not the same; in the Wallachian manuscript (Sucev. 23) they are rather heavy and broad; in the Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24) they are more slender, but in both cases they are far removed from the elegance of Paris 74. There is no modeling either of the faces or of the bodies, and the features are not colored, some dabs of red only are applied, almost at random, on the cheeks, on the forehead, and on the neck. The outline of the eye is not drawn in the Wallachian manuscript (Sucev. 23), only the pupil is marked by a black dot, giving a very peculiar expression to the face. The bodies are not colored, but we find the same strokes of red along the sides.

Both these manuscripts have been influenced by the technique seen in Paris 74 and have retained the flat tints and the fine gold lines. In the Wallachian manuscript (Sucev. 23) these lines indicate the folds of the garments as in the Paris manuscript, only they are not so fine, but in the Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24) oblique parallel lines cover the garments and even the accessories, a mannerism that has been copied from the Elisavetgrad

53. G. Millet, *Recherches* . . . , pp. 410-416.

Gospel, though beginnings of it may be found in Paris 74, where *hachures* are used to indicate the shadows only. We also find in Paris 74 a few instances of fine gold lines drawn on the accessories; on folios 25 and 26 v., for instance, the throne of Christ is covered with them. What we find in the Elisavetgrad and Moldavian Gospels may therefore be considered as the technique of Paris 74 in an exaggerated form.

Taking each group separately, we can now study the iconography of the miniatures without consideration of other divergences.

Group A. We stated above that among the miniatures of Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23 there are a few which differ from the compositions of Paris 74. The most important of these is the representation of Christ's Nativity in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

In Paris 74 the Nativity is combined with the Arrival of the Magi. The three Wise Men come on horseback from the left toward the Virgin, who is lying by the manger (Fig. 20). The Elisavetgrad and the Moldavian Gospels (Fig. 21) have the same composition, but in Curzon 153 (Fig. 23) and in the Wallachian Gospel (Fig. 22) the Magi come on foot and bend the knee to worship the Child and to offer their gifts. In the right-hand margin they can be seen going away on horseback. Thus the Adoration has taken the place of the Arrival of the Magi and their Departure has been added, but the other parts of the composition—the Virgin and the Infant Jesus, the angel giving the message to the shepherds, Joseph, the bath of the Child—have not been altered. The miniature of Paris 74, in which the Magi arrive immediately after the birth of Christ but do not yet worship, represents "the logical formula, the primitive type."⁵⁴ The variation of Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23, that is, the Adoration combined with the Nativity, can be found in a number of manuscripts originating in the East or revealing Oriental influence. There are slight variations in the type. When the Magi are placed on the left-hand side, as is the case in our two copies, the Arrival rather than the Adoration is indicated. In the oldest examples the Magi stand upright, it is only later, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that they bend the knee to worship.⁵⁵

The Departure of the Magi is not represented either in Paris 74 or in other manuscripts belonging to the same redaction. We can see it however in Laur. VI, 23, which belongs to a different tradition. The complete cycle of the Nativity gives the Arrival, the Adoration, and the Departure.⁵⁶ Is one to think that the artist who first added this last scene to the composition of Paris 74 had seen it in a manuscript belonging to the same group as Laur. VI, 23? This may be, but it seems more probable that he was influenced by another cycle in which we also find the Departure of the Magi, namely the Akathistic Hymn. This hymn was composed in honor of the Virgin at a very early date. The oldest illustrated copy is an eleventh century manuscript at Moscow.⁵⁷ In the fourteenth century, when the worship of the Virgin Mary was strongly developed, this cycle of subjects was represented not only in manuscripts, but also on the walls of churches. We find them in Serbia, at Mateic and in the monastery of Marko; in the church of the Pantanassa at Mistra; and, later, on Mount Athos, in the monasteries of Lavra and Chilandar. There are also numerous examples in Russia and Roumania. All these frescoes include the Departure of the Magi.⁵⁸

54. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 140, fig. 86.

57. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 481. Some scholars consider it to be of a later period.

58. I am indebted to M. Millet for information concerning the frescoes of the monastery of Marko. For Mateic, see his *Recherches* . . . , pp. 148, 154, fig. 106; for the Pantanassa, see his *Monuments byzantins de Mistra, matériaux pour l'étude de l'architecture et de la peinture en Grèce aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Paris, 1910, pl. 151; for the



FIG. 23—London, British Museum: Nativity, from Curzon MS. 153

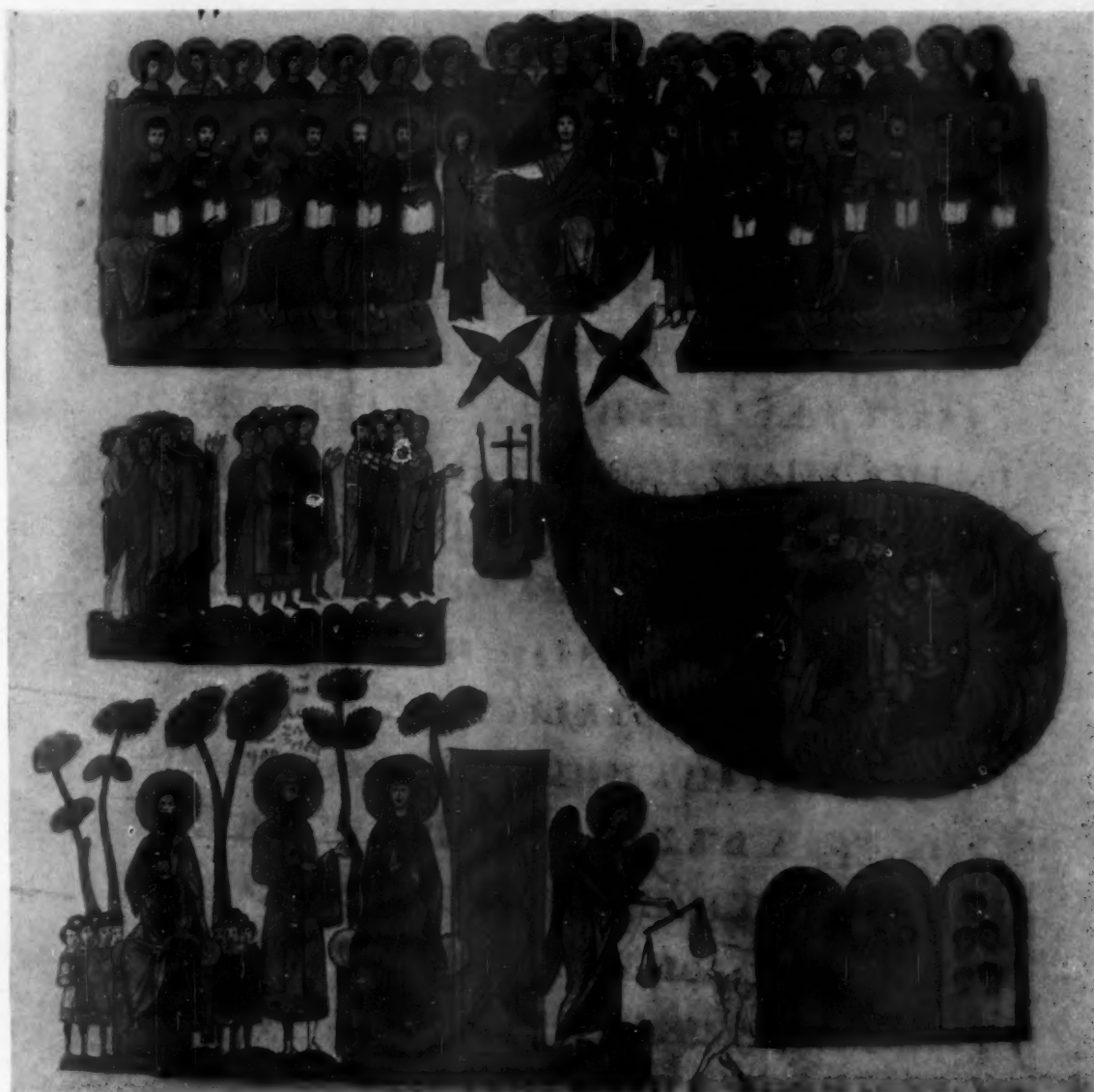


FIG. 24—London, British Museum: Last Judgment, from Curzon MS. 153

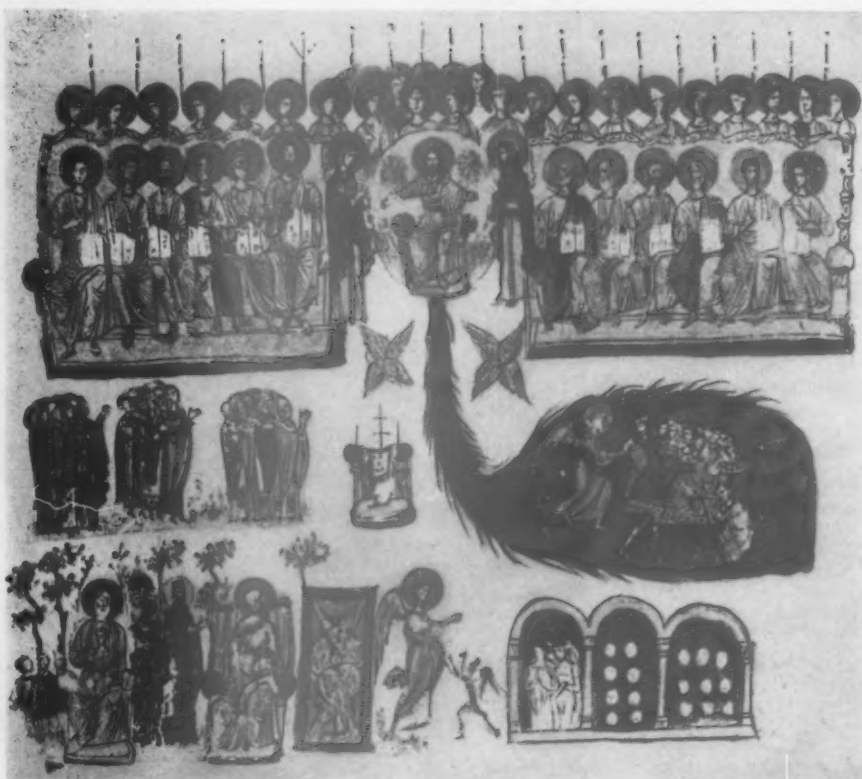


FIG. 25—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Last Judgment*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 93 v.



FIG. 26—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Last Judgment*, from MS. 23, Fol. 140 v.

Another feature differentiates the miniatures of Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23 from those of Paris 74 and brings them nearer to the compositions of the fourteenth century: instead of wearing cylindrical bonnets the Magi have turbans, not only in the scene of the Nativity, but also in the other two miniatures where they are represented, namely, in conversation first with the Jews, then with Herod. The same kind of turban can be seen in the fresco of Mateic, in Serbia, on the heads of the secondary figures who stand in the background.

Except in the Magi scenes the two manuscripts, Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23, differ from Paris 74 only in points of detail, and these divergences are common to both. In the representation of the Last Judgment, to the group of the Holy Women on the left, they add the figure of St. Mary the Egyptian, a woman naked save for a cloth wrapped round her (Figs. 24 and 26). The group of the damned also differs slightly from that in Paris 74 (Fig. 25). Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23 make the same mistake in copying one of the miniatures representing the Raising of Jairus' Daughter. In Paris 74 (Fig. 4) Jairus and his wife are standing behind the bed of their daughter, while in these two Slavonic copies we have Jairus and an old man with a beard (Figs. 5 and 7). The Moldavian manuscript (Fig. 6) helps us to understand how this mistake was made. In the Greek Gospel (Fig. 4) Jairus' wife is dressed very simply, she wears a long straight dress, her hair is pulled back and there is no veil over her head. She thus resembles a very young man and this is what the artist of the Moldavian manuscript has taken her to be (Fig. 6). In the prototype of Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23, a young man must have been represented, as in the Moldavian Gospel, and then from one copy to another the young man has been changed into an old one. This example shows what scant attention was paid to the text by the artists, who merely copied the picture that was set before them, without thinking of what it represented.

Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23 differ again from Paris 74 in a matter of detail in the illustration of the following passage in St. Luke: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man confess before the angels of God: but he that denieth me before men shall be denied before the angels of God" (XII, 8-9). In all the manuscripts Christ is seated upon His throne between two angels. In Paris 74 the *loros* of the angels is crossed over the breast while in the two Slavonic copies it is a band coming straight down the middle of the garment from the neck to the waist.⁵⁹ In the second Feeding of the Five Thousand in the Gospel of St. Matthew, the soldier who is seen sitting in the midst of the multitude in Paris 74 has been left out in both the Slavonic copies;⁶⁰ in the miniature representing the Healing of the Ten Lepers, we find only six lepers instead of ten in both Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23;⁶¹ in the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Slavonic copyists have placed on the throne of the Etimasia the cross, the lance, and the sponge, which are not to be seen in Paris 74;⁶² in the parable of the Grain of Mustard Seed Christ and the apostles are on the right-hand side of the tree, while in Paris 74 they are on the

paintings of Mount Athos, see his *Monuments de l'Athos, relevés avec le concours de l'Armée française d'Orient et de l'École française d'Athènes*, I, *Les Peintures in Monuments de l'art byzantin*, V, pls. 146, 147/1, 100/2, 101/1 and 2. In the Akathistic Hymn which is found at the end of the Serbian Psalter of Munich (cf. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, pl. LIV, no. 133) and in the manuscript of the Synodal Library at Moscow, no. 429 (*ibid.*, p. 130), the Magi depart on foot; this is quite exceptional.

59. Paris 74, fol. 135 v. (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 119 a); Sucev. 23, fol. 198 v.

60. Paris 74, fol. 32 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 28 a); Sucev. 23, fol. 37.

61. Paris 74, fol. 146 v. (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 127 a); Sucev. 23, fol. 210.

62. Paris 74, fol. 145 v. (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 126 c); Sucev. 23, fol. 212 v.

left;⁶³ in the miniature representing Christ at the House of Mary and Martha the woman who brings in the dishes is on the left-hand side, while in Paris 74 she is on the right.⁶⁴

The miniatures here reproduced show also the great stylistic similarity between the Slavonic Gospels. The inscriptions found in Curzon 153 do not tell us how long this manuscript remained in Moldavia, or whether it passed directly from this province to the monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos, or whether it stayed some time in Wallachia; but, even if the Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) is not an immediate copy of Curzon 153, there can be no doubt as to the very close relationship that exists between the two manuscripts.⁶⁵ No more can we doubt their derivation from Paris 74. The iconographical variation of the Nativity may easily be explained, we have seen, as a modification of a later time, introduced under the influence of contemporary works of art. The alterations in the landscape and secondary features are due to the gradual submergence of Hellenistic traditions in East Christian art.

Group B. As stated above, the prototype of the Elisavetgrad and the Moldavian Gospels (Sucev. 24) does not seem to be Paris 74 but a variant of this. Pokrovskij has already pointed out certain miniatures of the Elisavetgrad Gospel which concord better with the text of the Gospels than do those of Paris 74. I have found the same examples in the Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24).

For the second Feeding of the Five Thousand in Mark, the Greek artist has placed only five loaves of bread before Christ, as for the first Feeding of the Multitude, while in the Elisavetgrad and Moldavian Gospels we find seven loaves, according to the text: "And He asked them, How many loaves have ye? And they said, Seven" (VIII, 5). In the Transfiguration in Paris 74, Christ comes down from the mountain accompanied by two apostles, while the two Slavonic copies represent the three apostles, Peter, James, and John, who were with Him. Toward the end of Luke, Christ is represented talking with His disciples after His resurrection. In Paris 74 we have twelve disciples, as if Judas were still among them, but in our two copies there are only eleven.⁶⁶

One might think that the artist of the Elisavetgrad Gospel or his predecessor had corrected the compositions of Paris 74, but this is contrary to the custom of copyists. Moreover, as Pokrovskij remarks, a man who was capable of detecting inaccuracies in his original

63. Paris 74, fol. 139 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 122 a); Sucev. 23, fol. 200.

64. Paris 74, fol. 132 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 117 a); Sucev. 23, fol. 190.

65. The Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) differs from Curzon 153 and both compositions differ from Paris 74 in the representation of the Transfiguration in the Gospel of St. Luke. In Paris 74 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 112 b) the group of Christ and the apostles, which is usually on the right-hand side descending from the mountain, is placed before the Transfiguration and faces the left. In the Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23, fol. 179) this group is placed again before the Transfiguration, but turned toward the right. Only in Curzon 153 do we see the traditional composition, Christ and the apostles coming down from the mountain after the Transfiguration. The composition of Paris 74 is evidently an erroneous copy, that of the Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) might be considered as representing Christ and the apostles coming toward the

mountain. From the fourteenth century onward we find in most representations of this scene two symmetrical groups, the one coming toward the mountain, the other going away from it; it is more probable, however, that the Wallachian miniaturist did not have the intention of representing the first of these two groups, but that we have once more a faulty copy. It is difficult to explain how these mistakes have come to take place and how it is that the Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) differs both from Paris 74 and Curzon 153. This exception is not sufficient proof, however, to make us doubt the close relationship of the two Slavonic Gospels and their connection with Paris 74. The artist of Curzon 153 while having before him the faulty composition of Paris 74 may very easily have corrected it when copying, since the correct representation is to be seen in the other Gospels.

66. Pokrovskij, *The Gospel . . .*, p. XXIII; Sucev. 24, fols. 110 v., 113 v., 225 v.; Paris 74, fols. 80, 82, 163 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 72 b, 74 a, 141 b).

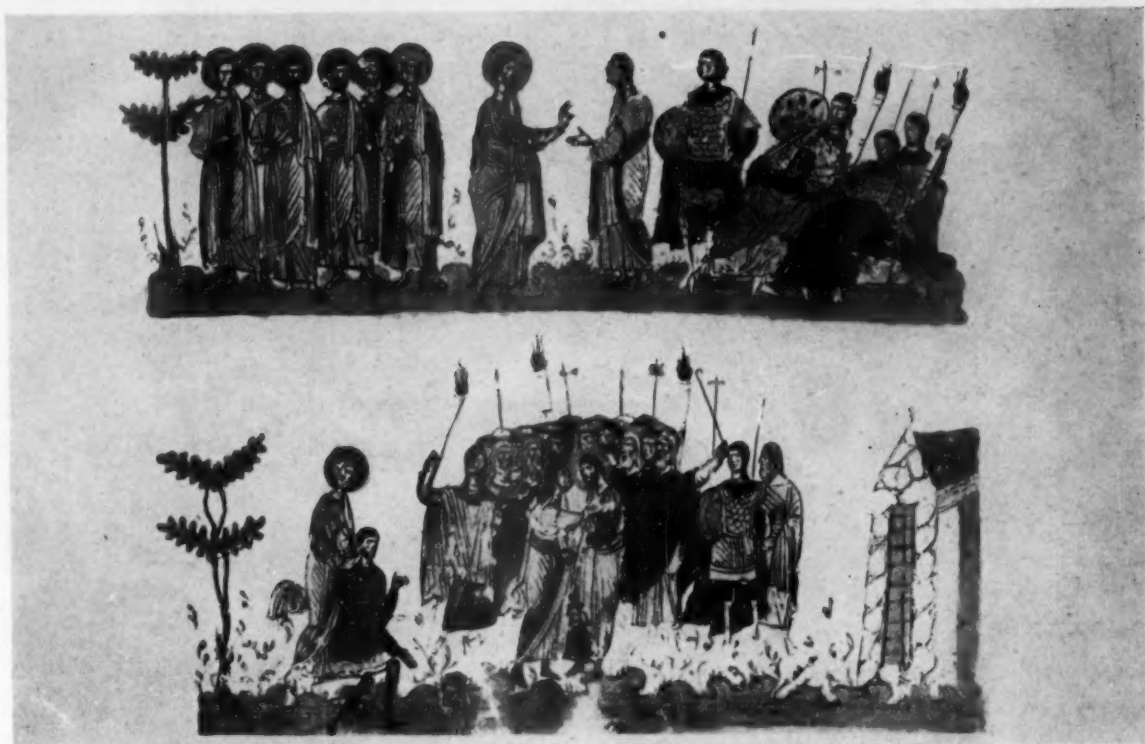


FIG. 27—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Betrayal*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 202 v.



FIG. 28—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Betrayal*, from MS. 24, Fol. 282



FIG. 29—*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Ascension, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 101 v.*



FIG. 30—*Sucevitza, Monastery: Ascension, from MS. 23, Fol. 161 v.*

and of correcting these would not have left some of them uncorrected nor would he have committed new mistakes himself. We must conclude that the artist did not work from the Paris manuscript but that he copied another, in places more correct than the Paris example, and probably he himself made several mistakes.⁶⁷

We find in these two manuscripts some other divergences from Paris 74, but these do not seem to be copies of a better model. They, I believe, are modifications of a later time, introduced perhaps by the artist of the Elisavetgrad Gospel.

In Paris 74 as well as in Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23 there is a portrait of the donor and of the evangelist at the end of each Gospel, but there is no such miniature in the same place either in the Elisavetgrad or in the Moldavian manuscript. The portrait of Jeremiah and his family at the end of John in the latter belongs to a different iconographical type and cannot be taken into consideration here.

One must not suppose, however, that the prototype of these last two manuscripts lacked such portraits. At the beginning of Matthew, right under the headpiece, we see both in the Elisavetgrad⁶⁸ and in the Moldavian Gospels (Fig. 39) St. Matthew standing opposite a man dressed as a Byzantine emperor, who holds a scroll of parchment in one hand and a cross in the other. This miniature is not in its proper place, for the headpiece should be followed immediately by the text; the disposition of Paris 74 with the portraits at the end of each Gospel is more logical. It is very likely that a similar arrangement existed in the prototype of these two Slavonic manuscripts and that the transposition took place only in later copies. There is also a difference in the attitude of the donor. In Paris 74 the hegumen is shown in profile, he raises his hands toward the evangelist as if in prayer. The Slavonic copies of the first group have represented the prince in the same manner, but in the Moldavian manuscript (Fig. 39) the emperor does not turn toward the evangelist; he is seen in full face, standing on a red cushion. It is a portrait of the emperor in his glory and no longer in the attitude of a supplicant. The conception of Paris 74, the donor as supplicant, is more correct.

Pokrovskij's description of this miniature contains nothing in regard to the position of the emperor in the Elisavetgrad Gospel; we cannot determine therefore whether the attitude was first modified by the Moldavian artist or not. There is, however, another mistake which can be ascribed to him with certainty. He has inscribed the letters IC XC at the sides of the figure, thinking evidently that the person clothed as an emperor represented Christ. Christ is sometimes depicted clothed as an emperor, but in almost all such cases He represents the Sovereign Judge. Moreover, He always holds the Book of the Gospels in His hand and never a scroll of parchment or a cross. These are the attributes of emperors. The well-known portrait of Manuel Paleologue, in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, gr. suppl. 309) is a very good example. The emperor wears exactly the same costume as the figure in the Moldavian manuscript, and he also holds a cross and a scroll of parchment. There are a great many other instances, one of which can be seen in Curzon 153, namely, the portrait of John Alexander at the beginning of this manuscript.⁶⁹ The prototype of the Elisavetgrad and Moldavian manuscripts must have been written for a prince and must have contained his portrait. In later copies the portrait

67. Pokrovskij, *loc. cit.*

68. *Ibid.*

69. Fol. 2 v. See reproduction in Curzon, *Catalogue of Material for Writing . . .*, p. 42, and Scholvin, *op. cit.*, pl. II.

remained, but the name of the prince was naturally omitted, as in the Elisavetgrad Gospel. The Moldavian artist copying such a model mistook what was originally the portrait of some prince for a representation of Christ.

Other examples again show the resemblance between the Elisavetgrad Gospel and the Moldavian manuscript and also the way in which their miniatures differ from the original composition. In Paris 74 and in the copies of the first group two miniatures placed one above the other illustrate the Betrayal in the Gospel of St. John (Fig. 27). The first represents the soldiers falling backwards when Christ tells them He is whom they have come to seek; the second shows Judas kissing Jesus. In the Elisavetgrad and in the Moldavian Gospels (Fig. 28) the two scenes are side by side in one miniature, and we can see plainly that this is a mistake, for the compositions are cramped and confused.⁷⁰

We also find in these two manuscripts the same iconographical variation. The Ascension as represented in Paris 74 (Fig. 29) differs from the usual type. Christ ascending in a mandorla held by four angels is placed in the extreme right of the composition. Below Him, the Virgin, seen in profile right, raises her hands. Facing her one of the disciples points to Christ, behind her an angel makes the same gesture and turns his head toward the disciples who follow him. We have a similar disposition in the Wallachian manuscript (Fig. 30), but in the Elisavetgrad and Moldavian Gospels this miniature has been replaced by a symmetrical composition (Fig. 32). Christ and the Virgin form the central figures; the Virgin stands as *orans* between two groups of disciples, and behind her two angels point to Christ, one with the right hand, the other with the left. The unsymmetrical composition of Paris 74 is still very close to the old narrative redaction; the disciples come forward and see Christ ascending. But even if we do not take into consideration the general disposition, we have nevertheless two different types, one with the Virgin in profile, the other with the Virgin full face. Both types are of a very ancient origin for they can be seen on the ampullæ of Monza of the sixth century. The Virgin in profile is not found very often, we have her thus in the Psalters with marginal illustrations and a few other manuscripts, while the other treatment is much more common. In the oldest examples there are no angels;⁷¹ in some compositions of the eleventh century there is one angel speaking to the disciples, in later representations a second angel points to Christ ascending into heaven. It is perhaps in the manuscript of Gelat, in Georgia, of the eleventh-twelfth century, that we find one of the very first instances of the symmetrical composition, the angels both pointing to Christ, but one with the right hand, the other with the left. The Ascension of the Gelat Gospel does not seem to retain the types of an older redaction; it rather appears to be the final stage of an evolution which adds to the theme first one angel, then two, each in a different attitude concurring with the apocryphal stories, but which finally, regardless of the text, represents them both making the same gesture. This last type spreads with great rapidity, especially from the fourteenth century on. In Moldavia we find many examples; they may be seen, for instance, on two embroidered textiles and on an icon of the monastery of Putna.⁷² A miniature of a seventeenth

70. Paris 74, fol. 202 v. (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 172); Sucev. 24, fol. 282; Pokrovskij, *The Gospel* . . . , p. 299.

71. That is, if we consider that the full-page illustrations of the Gospel of Rabula are not so old as the other miniatures.

72. O. Tafrali, *Le trésor byzantin et roumain du monastère de Putna*, Paris, 1925, pl. LVIII, no. 107; pl. XIV, no. 24; pl. XXV, no. 69.



FIG. 31—Dragomirna, Monastery: Ascension, from Gospel

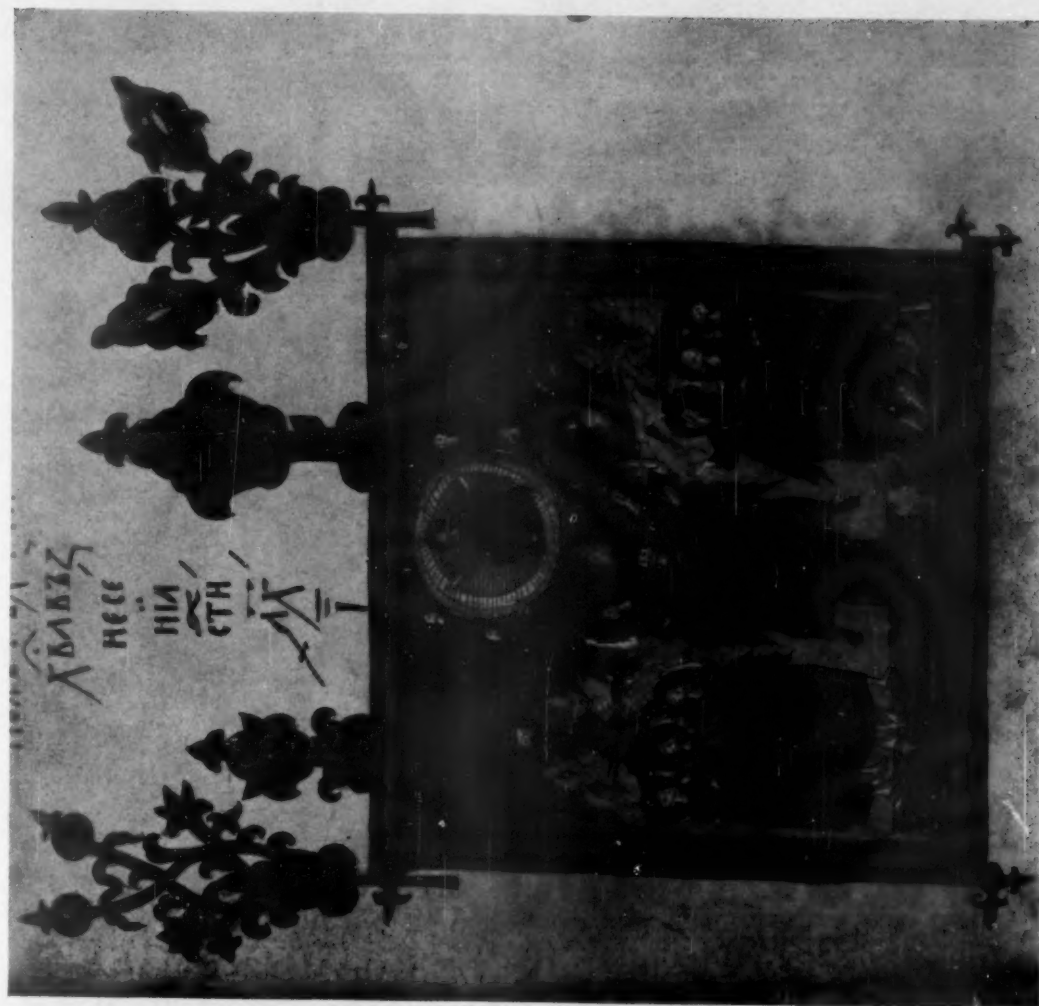


FIG. 32—Suceviltza, Monastery: Ascension, from MS. 24, Fol. 138



FIG. 33—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Crucifixion, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 207 v.



FIG. 34—Sucevitza, Monastery: Crucifixion, from MS. 24, Fol. 288 v.



FIG. 35—Elisavetgrad, Pokrovski Sobor: Crucifixion, from Gospel

century Gospel belonging to the monastery of Dragomirna (Fig. 31) resembles the composition of the Moldavian Gospel (Sucev. 24); we find the same figures, the same rocks in the background, and both miniatures have a frame decorated with "fleurons."⁷³ I do not know whether the other miniatures of the manuscript of Dragomirna are framed, but it is quite an exception for Sucev. 24, and this also denotes some influence foreign to that of Paris 74. Thus the symmetrical composition of the Ascension, which had taken the place of the narrative type of Paris 74, either in the Elisavetgrad Gospel or in its immediate predecessor, was copied all the more readily by the Moldavian artist since it was a well-known type in his country.

There are also minor points of similarity between the two manuscripts. In the vignette of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the "Ancient of Days" is represented in a medallion above the evangelist and His name is inscribed both in Paris 74 and in the Slavonic copies of the first group, but in the Elisavetgrad and Moldavian Gospels the inscription has been omitted.⁷⁴ In both these manuscripts, again, the body of the leper, in the Gospel of St. Mark, is covered with the marks of leprosy even after his healing, while the miniaturist of Paris 74 does not make such a mistake.⁷⁵

It is noteworthy that all the miniatures lacking in the Elisavetgrad Gospel are also missing in the Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24). Comparison of all the miniatures that they contain would doubtless show other points of similarity, but these are sufficient to prove the great affinity of the two manuscripts.

These conclusions are confirmed by study of the style. The paintings of the monasteries of Dragomirna and Sucevitza can be differentiated from those of other monasteries of Moldavia by features which reveal Russian influence.⁷⁶ In the mural paintings, for instance, compositions of Russian origin take the place of Moldavian *motifs*. Thus it is that we find for the first time, in the vaultings of the apse, instead of the Virgin holding the Child, the Holy Trinity, with the representation of God the Father as a bearded figure, and beneath, a landscape with fortified cities, out of which the prophets come forth. In the foreground the Virgin, as *orans*, stands between two groups of advancing apostles. This composition does not belong to Moldavian art, but it can be seen on a number of Russian icons. Foreign influences may also be found in the miniatures. The manuscripts of Sucevitza and Dragomirna can be divided into two groups: some are Wallachian manuscripts brought over to Moldavia probably after the accession of Simeon Movila to the throne of Wallachia, others have been illustrated in the schools of Sucevitza and Dragomirna and are influenced by Russian art. The architectural background is similar to that of Russian icons; the types of Christ and the Virgin, the faces with close-set eyes and long pointed beards, are also Russian types; finally, the gold cross-hatching which covers the paintings reveals the same influence. We can also see by the style that these manuscripts do not follow the Moldavian tradition, for the faces, instead of being very carefully painted as is customary in Moldavia, have been drawn with but scant attention.

73. I owe this photograph to the courtesy of M. Stefanescu.

74. Paris 74, fol. 1 (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 1); Sucev. 23, fol. 1; Sucev. 24, fol. 4 v.; Pokrovskij, *The Gospel* . . . , p. XXIII.

75. Paris 74, fol. 66 v. (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 62 a); Sucev. 24, fol. 92 v.; Pokrovskij, *loc. cit.*

76. For information concerning the influence of Russian art on the paintings of Sucevitza I have to thank M. Stefanescu, who has given me the benefit of his extensive knowledge of Moldavian art.

In our Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24) we have found most of these characteristic features, such as the houses, the carelessly drawn faces with close set-eyes, the gold hatching. We have no definite information in regard to the presence of Russian artists in the schools of painting of Sucevitza and Dragomirna, but on the other hand we do know that close relations existed between Kiev and Moldavia during the reign of the Movilas, since a little later one of them, Peter Movila, son of Simeon and nephew of Jeremiah, became the metropolite of Kiev.⁷⁷ It is therefore not surprising that our Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24) should bear strong resemblance to a Russian manuscript such as the Elisavetgrad Gospel. Native artists, or perhaps even Russian, must have copied a model imported from Russia (cf. Figs. 33-38).

It would appear, however, that this model has not always been copied with great faithfulness. We find in the Moldavian Gospel (Sucev. 24) some miniatures which are foreign to the cycle of Paris 74 and which seem to have been added afterwards; also a number of iconographical variations which I believe are alterations of a later period.

The miniaturist of the Moldavian Gospel has added, first of all, the full-page ornaments which were meant to frame a portrait or more probably an inscription, but the space in the middle has remained blank (Fig. 40). The dedication is framed in other manuscripts, such as two Gospels of the monastery of Putna.⁷⁸ These frames are quite simple, but the manuscripts themselves are not very richly illuminated. It is clear that for a Tetraevangelia with such a profusion of miniatures as Sucev. 24, the ornament framing the inscription had to be much more elaborate. In the first ornament, on folio 4, the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, have been painted in the side margins (Fig. 40). There is nothing Byzantine in these ornaments; they resemble contemporary Moldavian decorative designs, which reveal a strong western influence.

The strip of woven pattern used as a headpiece has also been introduced by the artist of the Moldavian Gospel. It is quite similar to the bands that one sees in most Roumanian manuscripts and can also be found in other Slavonic copies.

The portrait of Jeremiah and his family, painted at the end of the manuscript (fol. 296), must also be included in the group of miniatures added by this artist (Fig. 42). On the right, Christ is seated and gives His blessing; the archangels Michael and Gabriel stand behind His throne. In front of Him, the prince and his family—his three sons, Constantin, Alexander, and Bogdan, and four women—all clothed in rich brocades, are standing in two rows. Jeremiah holds a book in one hand and in the other an open scroll of parchment; each of the other persons holds a small cross. This composition differs absolutely from the group of Paris 74; it is another iconographic type, which reminds one of the portraits of donors decorating the walls of numerous churches in the Balkans.

The artist of the Moldavian manuscript must have copied such a picture as these wall paintings, and he could find a model right at hand in the big church of the monastery of Sucevitza. On the north wall of the church Jeremiah is represented with the different members of his family; he offers to Christ the model of the church he has built (Fig. 41). Christ is seated, one archangel stands behind His throne, and by the side of it is the Virgin with an open scroll in her hand. The attitudes of the various persons, the throne of Christ,

77. N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Rumänischen Volkes*, II, p. 116.

78. Episcop Melchisedec, *op. cit.*, pls. 15, 16.



FIG. 36—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Crucifixion*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 207 v.



FIG. 37—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Crucifixion*, from MS. 24, Fol. 289



FIG. 38—Elisavetgrad, Pokrovski Sobor: *Crucifixion*, from Gospel

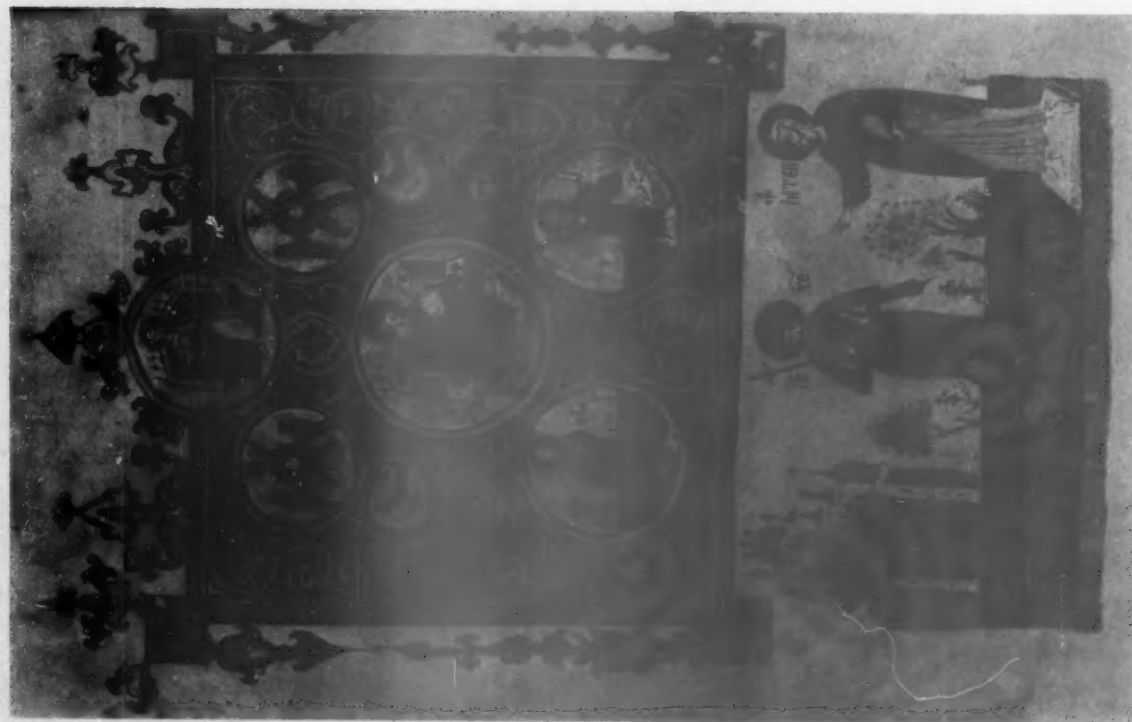


FIG. 39—Sucevitza, Monastery: St. Matthew the Evangelist Writing; an Emperor Misunderstood as Christ, and St. Matthew the Evangelist, from MS. 24, Fol. 4 v.

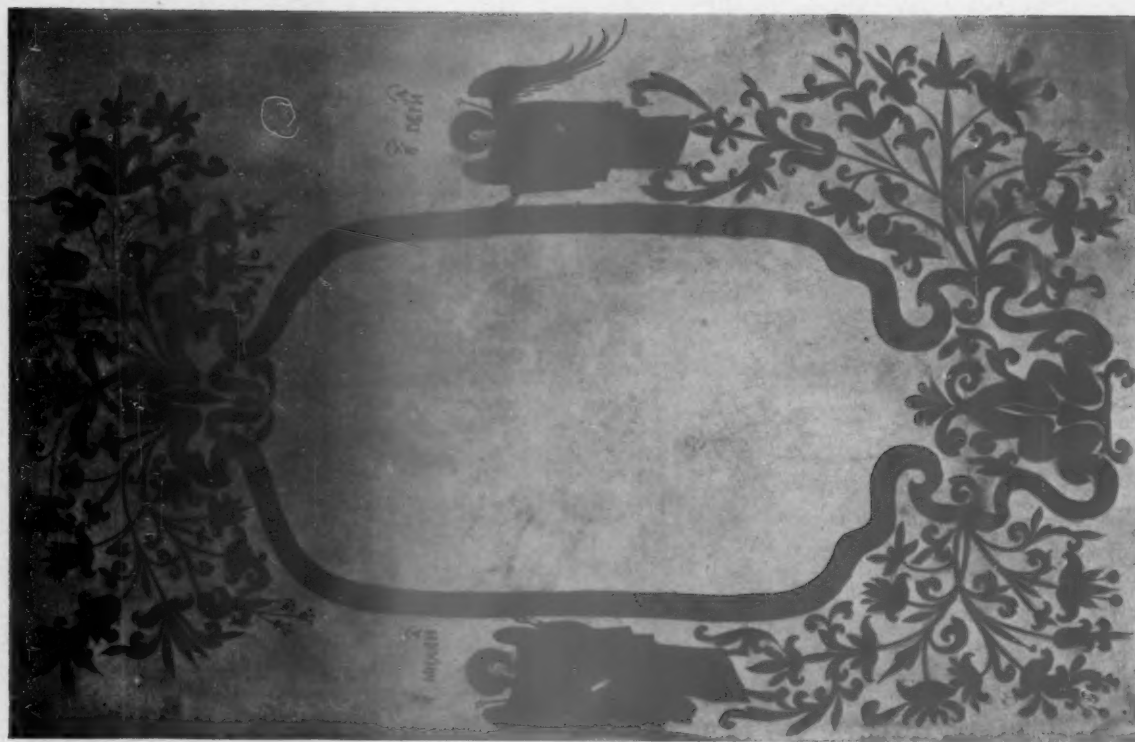


FIG. 40—Sucevitza, Monastery: Ornament, and Archangels Michael and Gabriel, from MS. 24, Fol. 4



FIG. 41—*Sucevitza, Church of the Resurrection: Portraits of the Voivod, Jeremiah Movila, and His Family. Eighteenth Century Fresco*



FIG. 42—*Sucevitza, Monastery: Portraits of the Voivod, Jeremiah Movila, and His Family, from MS. 24, Fol. 296*



FIG. 43—Sucevitza, Monastery: Frontispiece of the Gospel of
St. Luke, from MS. 24, Fol. 140 v

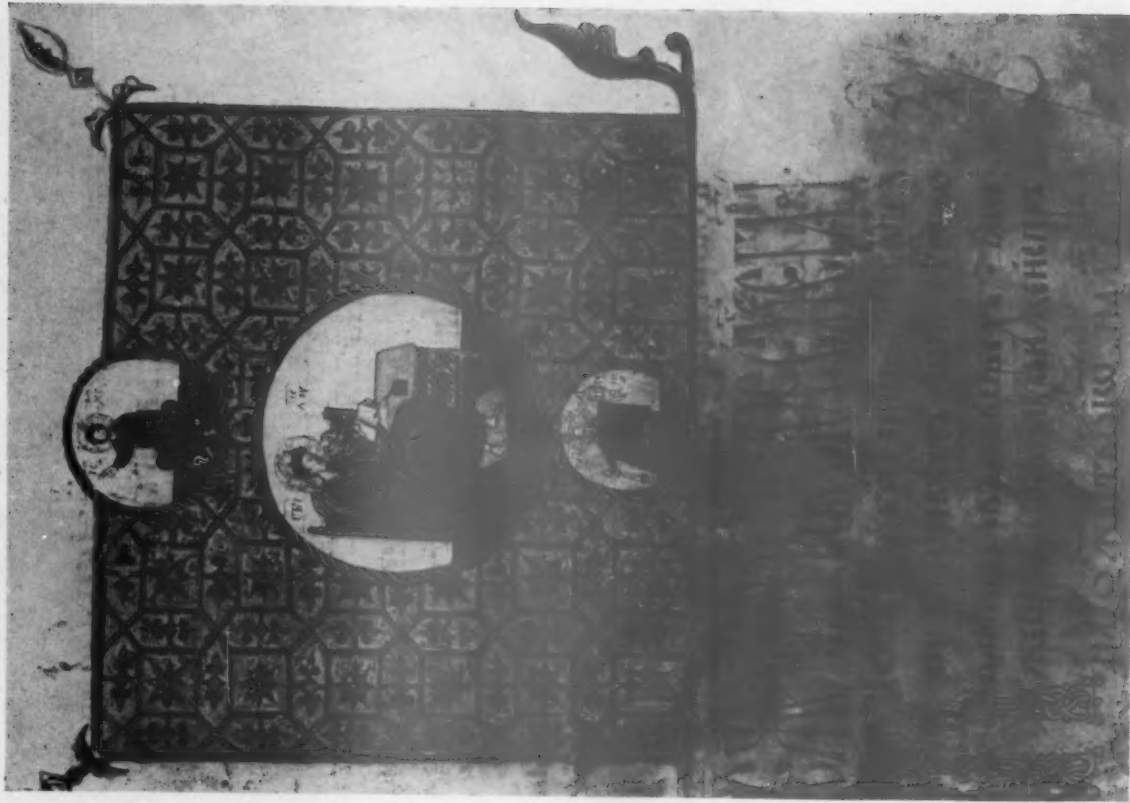


FIG. 44—Sucevitza, Monastery: Title Head of the Gospel of
St. Luke, from MS. 23, Fol. 153

the archangel, and the open scroll of parchment all remind one of the miniature.⁷⁹ The scroll may be the foundation charter, or, more probably, the parchment on which was inscribed the prayer pronounced at the time of the donation. The Virgin holds it because she stands as an intermediary between the prince and Christ. We often see her in this rôle. In Serbia, in the church of Studenitza, she takes the founder, Czar Nemanja, by the hand and leads him toward Christ; in another Serbian church, at Vratjevnica, she helps the founder carry the image of the church. In some Roumanian churches the patron saint serves as intermediary and holds the scroll of parchment, as, for instance, in the churches of Balinesti (1502) and Arbora (1546). At the monastery of Humor (1530) the scroll is in the hands of the donor himself, as in our Moldavian Gospel.⁸⁰

Our miniature, as we see, without being an exact copy of the painting of Sucevitza, or of another fresco, has been influenced by these compositions. The greatest difference lies in the fact that the miniature does not contain real portraits. All the faces are alike and even that of the prince has no expression whatever, neither does it remind one in the least of the energetic countenance we see both on the fresco and on the beautifully embroidered tomb cover so well known through numerous reproductions.⁸¹

As we glance through Paris 74, we are somewhat surprised to find at the beginning of each Gospel a vignette with the portrait of the evangelist. This is not customary in Byzantine art. As a rule the evangelist is seen on the frontispiece and a vignette without any portrait is placed above the text. Sometimes a scene is intercalated in the vignette. In some Tetraevangelia we have the Nativity in the vignette for Matthew, the Baptism in the vignette for Mark, the Nativity of John the Baptist or the Annunciation for Luke, and the Descent of Christ into Hell for John.⁸² In the liturgical manuscripts of the Sermons of St. Gregory Nazianzen a scene related to the subject of the sermon is placed in the vignette.⁸³ The miniaturist of the Paris Gospel has followed this idea and introduced, instead of a scene, the portrait of the evangelist and a few other figures. His imitator has done likewise in the Wallachian manuscript (Fig. 44). The Moldavian artist has enlarged the vignette and as it could no longer be placed above the text he has devoted a whole page to it (Fig. 43). He has thus, perhaps unconsciously, placed the portrait of the evangelist on the frontispiece, as was customary in Byzantine art. He has moreover altered and

79. The photograph of this fresco was given me by M. Stefanescu. The names of the princes and princesses have been inscribed on this painting; in front are Maria, the mother of Jeremiah Movila, his daughter Irene, Jeremiah himself, and his eldest son, Constantin; behind and not shown in our photograph are represented two daughters, Samphira and Stena, the second son, Alexis, two more daughters, Ekaterina and Maria, then, finally, the wife of the prince, Elizabeth. The miniaturist has inscribed only the names of Jeremiah and of his three sons, Constantin, Alexander, and Bogdan. The last was probably not yet born when the fresco was painted. There is nothing to help us identify any of the women in the miniature. The two older ones standing at the back may be the mother and the wife of the prince, for on the fresco the mother wears a veil under her crown, as do the two women in the miniature. The others are most probably two of the remaining four daughters of Jeremiah; Samphira, the youngest, had died in 1596, before the illustra-

tion of this manuscript (cf. Kozak, *op. cit.*, XIV, pp. 238-242; XV, p. 172).

80. I am indebted to M. Millet for information concerning the Serbian churches, and to M. Stefanescu for information in regard to the Roumanian churches.

81. N. Jorga and G. Bals, *L'art roumain du XIVe au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1922, p. 132; N. Jorga, *Roumains et Grecs au cours des siècles, à l'occasion des mariages princiers de MDCCCXXI*, Bucarest, 1921, p. 20; N. Jorga, *Tapestries of Madame Tudosca Vasile Lupu*, in the *Bulletin of the Commission on Historical Monuments*, Bucharest, 1915, p. 149 (in Roumanian); *Exposition de l'art roumain ancien et moderne, catalogue des oeuvres exposées*, Paris, 1925, pl. 3.

82. Such as: Vatican Urbin. 2, Vatican Pal. gr. 189, Marcian gr. 540, Marcian gr. I. 8.

83. Such as: Sinait. 339, Paris Bibl. Nat. Coislin gr. 239, Paris Bibl. Nat. gr. 550.

made more elaborate the ornamental design inside the vignette, and added new medallions. On folio 88 v., for instance, under the portrait of Mark, we see Moses and Aaron on the sides, and a seraph in the middle. On folio 140 v. (Fig. 43) there are a greater number of new medallions: the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul confront each other across the portrait of St. Luke, and below two seraphim flank Aaron. Further down there are five empty medallions. Differences appear also in the costume and in the attitudes, Jesus stretches out both hands to bless instead of holding the Book of the Gospels; Aaron wears a long tunic.

But the divergences from Paris 74 and from the Elisavetgrad Gospel are more important when they deal with the compositions themselves. In the miniature representing the Annunciation to the Shepherds a new figure has been added. It is a young shepherd clothed in a long tunic, seated upon a rock and playing the flageolet. Pokrovskij does not mention any difference from the Paris type in the miniature of the Elisavetgrad Gospel, so this new feature seems to belong exclusively to the Moldavian manuscript (Fig. 47; cf. Figs. 45 and 46).

The *motif*, the shepherd playing the flute or flageolet, was probably created in Palestine. It is found already in the older frescoes of Cappadocia. The shepherds "stand in line, the sheep browse at their feet, one of them enveloped in a long robe, seated full face on a round stool, holds with both hands a flageolet the end of which touches his lips."⁸⁴ This shepherd appears only occasionally in Byzantine representations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as, for instance, in the Tetraevangelia of the Laurentian Library, VI, 23, but from the fourteenth century on he becomes a common feature in the representations of this scene. He is no longer a heavy, almost archaic figure, as in the Cappadocian frescoes, but he is young and elegant, clothed in a short tunic, and he plays the flute instead of the flageolet.⁸⁵

The shepherd of our manuscript belongs to the old Cappadocian type, and this leads one to ask whether it is a copy of a very old representation. Did the shepherd figure in the prototype, or is it a later addition made by the Moldavian painter? The composition with the shepherd seems better balanced, more harmonious. In Paris 74 and in the other three Slavonic copies the angel and the two shepherds are grouped on one side and there is only a hill and the sheep in the right half (Figs. 45 and 46). In the Moldavian Gospel (Fig. 47) the shepherd with the flageolet fills in this empty space; yet, when one examines the miniature more closely, one can see that the shepherd sits on a rock which appears to have been added afterwards. Besides, this figure does not belong to the tradition of Paris 74. Not only do we not see it in this Tetraevangelia, but it is not to be found either in any manuscript related to it or in Messarites' description of the mosaics of St. Sergius in Gaza. It seems hardly likely then that this shepherd should have been in the prototype of Paris 74. It is much more probable that it is a later addition, despite the apparent archaism of the attitude and of the costume. Moreover, this archaism itself can be explained. The East has remained faithful to the old Cappadocian type. In an Armenian manuscript of the fifteenth century (Paris arm. 18) the shepherd wears a long tunic, is seated full-face and

84. G. Millet, *Recherches* . . . , pp. 114 f., figs. 55-57.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 128, fig. 78. For the study of the theme see pp. 114-124.



FIG. 45—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Angel Appearing to the Shepherds*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 108 v.



FIG. 46—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Angel Appearing to the Shepherds*, from MS. 23, Fol. 158 v.



FIG. 47—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Angel Appearing to the Shepherds*, from MS. 24, Fol. 147

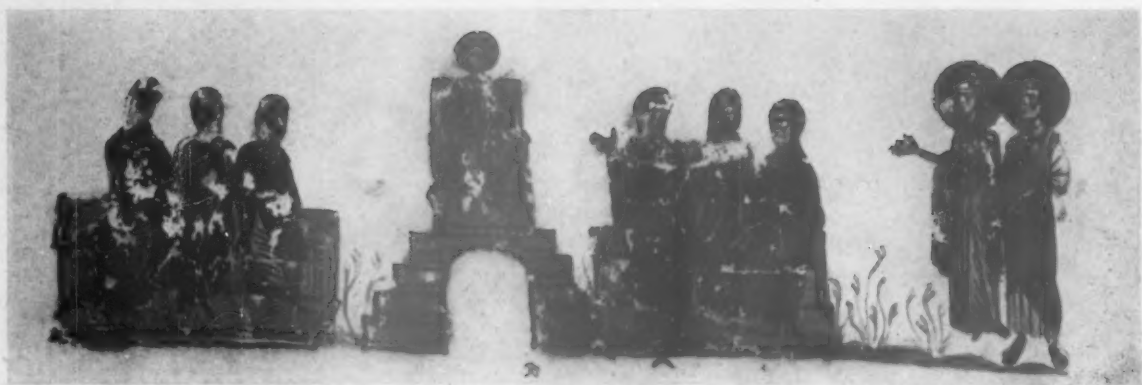


FIG. 48—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Christ among the Doctors*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 110



FIG. 49—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Christ among the Doctors*, from MS. 23, Fol. 163



FIG. 50—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Christ among the Doctors*, from MS. 24, Fol. 150

plays the flageolet.⁸⁶ The Moldavian artist may therefore have found this figure in contemporary works of art and copied it.

The miniature representing Jesus among the Doctors is also slightly different in the Moldavian Gospel (Fig. 50). The other Tetraevangelia (Figs. 48 and 49) place Joseph and Mary on the same side, while in this manuscript they stand one on each side of Christ, holding out their hands as in prayer. The rest of the composition has not been altered. The symmetrical disposition of Mary and Joseph is not customary and appears only at a late period. One of the oldest instances may be found in the Gospel of Gelat. "The Saviour is seated upon a golden throne placed on an eminence; on either side the Virgin and Joseph stretch out their hands as in the representation of the Deesis. Below, placed in a semicircle, as in the old representations of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the Jews are listening to the sermon of the Saviour."⁸⁷

I do not think that too much importance should be attached to the fact that we find once more in the Moldavian manuscript a composition paralleled in the Gelat Gospel. Each of the two examples, the Ascension and Jesus among the Doctors, represents an iconographical type of a later period; these variations, which had become quite common in the seventeenth century, may quite easily have been used by the Moldavian painter and need not necessarily have any connection with the Gelat Gospel.

The Moldavian miniaturist alters the composition once more and renders it more symmetrical in one of the representations of the Descent of Christ into Hell.⁸⁸ In Paris 74 Jesus stands on a mount above the broken gates of Hell; He is turned toward Adam and takes him by the hand (Fig. 51; cf. Fig. 53). This is a traditional type, in which Christ either comes toward Adam or leads him away. We have here most of the usual figures: John the Baptist, David, and Solomon on the right side, and on the left, behind Adam, Eve and Abel. The latter wears the pallium instead of being clothed as a shepherd. In the Moldavian manuscript the secondary figures are much more numerous, and, what is more important, Adam is placed on the left and Eve on the right, and Christ takes them each by the hand (Fig. 52). This symmetrical type also belongs to a later age, it can be seen at Mistra in the church of Evangelistria and on Mount Athos in the paintings of the Cretan school.⁸⁹ In Moldavia itself we find many instances: on an icon of the monastery of Putna, dated 1566, Adam and Eve are on either side, but Christ still holds the cross, so that He takes only Adam by the hand; on two Gospel covers of the same monastery, dated 1507 and 1569 respectively, Christ takes both Adam and Eve by the hand.⁹⁰ In our miniature the cross has been placed in the mandorla. Does this imply that in the original Christ still held it? However that may be, whether the symmetrical type has been introduced by the Moldavian painter, or by his predecessor, it is quite evident that it is a variation of a later age which has replaced the traditional type of Paris 74. One must note, besides, that in the representation of the same scene in the Gospel of St. John (fol. 290) the Moldavian painter has copied faithfully the composition of Paris 74.

The miniature which shows best the manner in which the artist of Sucevitza 24 has been influenced by his time is that of the Last Judgment in the gospel of St. Matthew. In

86. *Ibid.*, p. 119, fig. 69.

87. Pokrovskij, *The Gospel* . . . , p. 153.

88. Paris 74, fol. 60 (Omout, *op. cit.*, pl. 53 b); Sucev. 24, fol. 84 v.; Sucev. 23, fol. 89.

89. G. Millet *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, pl. 136; G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pls. 129/1, 154/2, 189/4, 107/1, 223/1, 260/1.

90. O. Tafrali, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, no. 57, pl. XII, no. 58.

Paris 74 (Fig. 54) and in the other two Slavonic copies, the Elisavetgrad and Wallachian manuscripts (this folio of Curzon 153 has been torn out), Christ is seated upon a throne with the apostles by His side and angels standing behind. On either side of Him the Virgin and St. John the Baptist intercede for mankind. A stream of fire issues from under Christ's feet and, passing behind the throne of the Etimasia placed below, descends toward the right to drown the damned. Above this stream the angels blow their trumpets and the beasts and the sepulchers give up their dead. At the bottom of the page an angel weighs the souls and in the right corner hell is depicted. The left-hand side is for the blessed. An angel holds the scroll and four groups of saints advance toward the throne. Abraham, surrounded by the souls of the dead, and the Virgin are seated in paradise, and a seraph guards the door, before which stands Peter, and a group of the elect seek admittance.

This is the typical composition; in the Moldavian Gospel (Fig. 55) it has been elaborated. The groups, such as angels, choirs of saints, patriarchs, saints led to paradise, have been increased, and, on the other hand, new elements have been introduced. Some of the latter, such as Adam and Eve, the repentant thief, belong to the pure Byzantine tradition, others are foreign to it and seem to be proper to Moldavia. On the right-hand side a man clothed in a pallium points out Christ and turns his head toward those who follow him. These men are divided into three groups; the first wear the long robes and veils of the Jews, the next have turbans or long pointed hats, and the last are negroes, wearing loin cloths—at least the leader of these last seems to wear a mantle draped over one shoulder. The idea was probably to represent the different nations who, not believing in Christ, were not redeemed by Him. There are several instances of such groups in Moldavian churches. The sixteenth century fresco of the church of Voroniec⁹¹ is a good example, though here the last group is missing; one finds it, however, in other churches, and there the inscriptions tell us that the first person is Moses and the groups are the Jews, Turks, and Ethiopians respectively.⁹² In the fresco of Voroniec we find other *motifs* similar to those of the miniature. The scales in which the souls are weighed are not held, as is customary, by an angel, but by a hand which comes out from under the footstool placed before the throne of the Etimasia; in the manuscript the hand comes out from under the throne itself. In the fresco and in the miniature angels drive away the damned with their lances. The Resurrection of the Dead is rendered in a more picturesque manner than in Paris 74. The allegories of the sea and the earth are surrounded by all kinds of animals, and there again we see a great likeness to the fresco. The lower parts of the painting of Voroniec have unfortunately been damaged and thus cannot be compared with the miniature, but it is quite evident that the group of the damned in the manuscript is a copy of a very fine composition. The naked figures are arranged skilfully and artistically and through the clumsy copy one can detect a very bold, realistic model, imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance.

The miniaturist of the Moldavian Gospel has not always modified the entire composition; he has sometimes introduced changes in one part, without altering the specific character of the miniature. In all the representations of the Transfiguration of Our Lord,⁹³ Moses and Elias are outside the mandorla and stand on the top of the jagged rocks which decorate

91. W. Podlacha, *Painted Walls in the Churches of Bukowina* (in Polish), Lemberg, 1922, pl. X, no. 28.

92. I owe this information to M. Stefanescu.

93. Sucev. 24, fols. 48 v., 113 v., 175.



FIG. 51—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Descent of Christ into Hell*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 60



FIG. 52—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Descent of Christ into Hell*, from MS. 24, Fol. 84 v.



FIG. 53—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Descent of Christ into Hell*, from MS. 23, Fol. 89

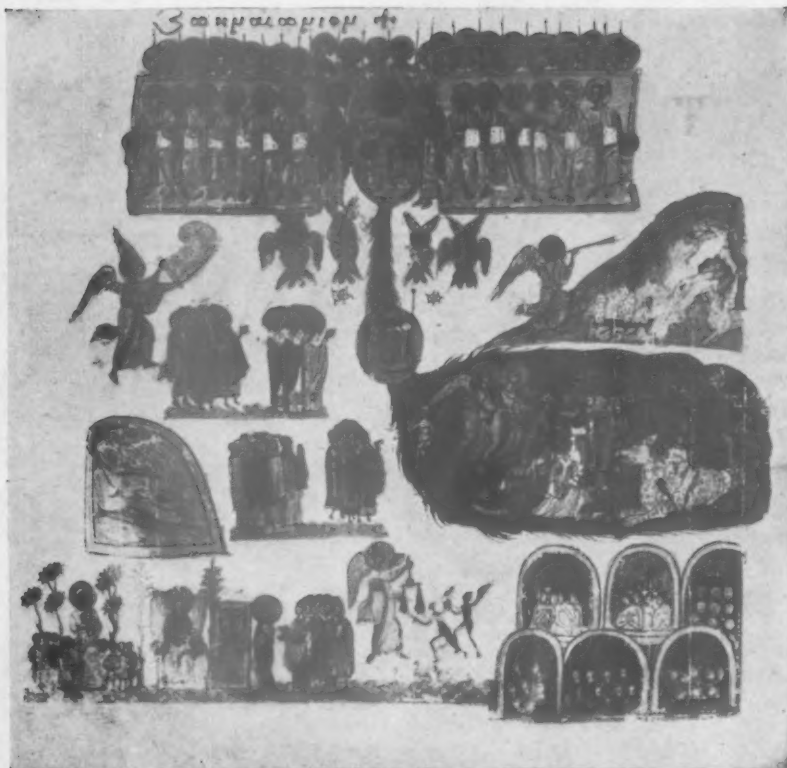


FIG. 54—Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*: *Last Judgment*, from MS. Gr. 74,¹ Fol. 51 v.



FIG. 55—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Last Judgment*, from MS. 24, Fol. 73 v.

the background. This has been the usual process from the fourteenth century onward. "Already in Sinai, in the nave of Toquale, at Tchaouch In, on an archaic icon of Chemokmedi the elliptical glory leaves the prophets outside."⁹⁴ This custom spreads in the fourteenth century owing to the doctrine of the Hesychasts, who reserved for Christ alone "the inaccessible light where God lives and which clothes Him as with a mantle."⁹⁵

In the Massacre of the Innocents the artist of the Moldavian manuscript adds to the composition the figure of Elizabeth fleeing with her child into the mountain which opens to receive them (Fig. 57; cf. Figs. 56, 58, and 59). This *motif* is derived from the Apocryphal Gospel of St. James: "And when Herod knew that he was deluded by the Magi, he was angry and sent assassins, saying unto them, Slay the infants from two years old and under. And Elizabeth, learning that John was sought for, took him and went up into the hill country, and looked for somewhere to hide him, and there was no place of concealment, and Elizabeth groaned and said with a loud voice, Mount of God, receive a mother with her child. And suddenly the mountain was divided and received her."⁹⁶ This passage had already been illustrated in Cappadocia, in the chapel of Tchaouch In, and also in the ninth century manuscript of St. Gregory Nazianzen at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris gr. 510), but it is more frequently seen after the fourteenth century. Elizabeth with the infant John is henceforth a regular feature in the Massacre of the Innocents, and all the more so as this scene is incorporated in the cycle of the life of St. John the Baptist.⁹⁷

We find another alteration of the type of Paris 74 in the miniature illustrating the parable of the vineyard let out to unthankful husbandmen; in this case it is no longer an iconographical variation, but a faulty copy.⁹⁸ This is the parable (Mark, XII, 1-8): A man lets out his vineyard to husbandmen, and at the season he sends a servant that he may receive of the fruit of the vineyard. The husbandmen beat him and send him away empty, they illtreat or kill all the other servants who are sent to them. The master of the vineyard finally sends his son but he also is killed and cast out. In the Moldavian manuscript (Fig. 61) the illustration is not easy to understand. We see at the left a first group composed of five men clothed in long tunics holding heavy sticks. A man in a short tunic has broken away from them and advances to the right, his hands raised as if he were speaking, but there is no one in front of him. A tree separates this first scene from the next, where we see three men in long tunics attacked by three others clothed in short tunics and armed with cudgels. A little further to the right we find again a group of men in long tunics holding heavy sticks (there were meant to be five men probably, for five cudgels have been drawn, but only four men are represented). At the extreme right the miniaturist has depicted the vineyard. The middle group certainly represents the messengers of the master of the vineyard attacked by the husbandmen, but the part played by the other persons is not at all clear. In Paris 74 (Fig. 60; cf. Fig. 62) we see a first group of five men in short tunics, but only two of them are armed; of the other three, one wears a long tunic. Opposite them stand three men in short tunics with cudgels. On the right-

94. G. Millet, *Recherches* . . . , p. 230.

95. *Ibid.*

96. H. H. Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels and Other Documents Relating to the History of Christ*, London, 1870, pp. 23 f.

97. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pl. 159/2.

98. Paris 74, fol. 89 v. (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. 78 b); Sucev. 24, fol. 123 v.; Sucev. 23, fol. 136.

hand side the three men who were not armed are attacked by the husbandmen; this group is similar to that of the Moldavian manuscript. The arrangement of the Greek manuscript (Paris 74) is more intelligible: the first scene represents the arrival of the messengers and their conversation with the husbandmen, even though no conversation is quoted in the text; the second scene shows how they were ill treated. In the parable several messengers are mentioned, and it is difficult to determine just which scene has been depicted here. As one person wears a different costume from the rest, a long tunic instead of a short one, it would seem that the artist intended to represent the son of the master of the vineyard. The two men who accompany him may be his servants. Now we can see what the artist of the Moldavian manuscript has done: he has simply transposed the group of husbandmen who come toward the messengers, placing them on the extreme right and thus rendering the composition quite symmetrical; he has also increased the number of husbandmen. The isolated figure on the left, who seems to be speaking, resembles one of the men accompanying the son in the first group of Paris 74.

To summarize the preceding paragraphs: the Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24) is derived from the Elisavetgrad Gospel, since we find in both the same errors, the same iconographical variations, and the omission of the same miniatures. Some of the variations are more accurate representations of the text, and they tend to prove that the prototype of these two copies is not Paris 74 but a variant of it.

The Moldavian manuscript is not always a faithful copy of its model. Several miniatures (the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Jesus among the Doctors, the Descent of Christ into Hell, the Last Judgment, the Transfiguration, the Massacre of the Innocents) differ from both Paris 74 and the Elisavetgrad Gospel; they represent the iconographical types which were current in the East from the fourteenth century onward, and one of them, the Last Judgment, contains features typical of Moldavian art. We have every reason to believe, therefore, that they are variations introduced at a fairly recent time, very probably by the artist who illustrated this manuscript. In only one miniature do we find an error of any importance and this seems to have been due to the desire of the artist to render the composition more symmetrical. It is notable that the greater number of the miniatures the compositions of which have been modified in this manuscript are iconographical themes which are represented very frequently, not only in manuscripts, but also in church frescoes, on icons, book-covers, and textiles. They exist independently of the evangelical cycle and could thus develop and change more easily. The artist who illuminated the Moldavian manuscript has occasionally broken away from the monotony of a servile copy of his model and represented some of the scenes in the way he was accustomed to see them depicted elsewhere.

We observe, then, a primary difference between the two Tetraevangelia of Sucevitza. While the Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) is a close copy of its model, the Moldavian manuscript (Sucev. 24) has alterations in the secondary features, accessories, and background, and also in the iconography of several compositions. This fact is in accordance with the artistic tendencies of the two principalities of Roumania. Wallachian art is faithful to the Byzantine tradition; both in architecture and painting Byzantine models have been imitated. The frescoes of Curtea de Arges, the ancient capital of Wallachia, certain parts of which are so similar to the mosaics of Kahrié Djami in Constantinople, are a good illustration of this practice. In Moldavia, however, the artists, while following



FIG. 56—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Massacre of the Innocents*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 5



FIG. 57—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Massacre of the Innocents*, from MS. 24, Fol. 9 v.



FIG. 58—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Massacre of the Innocents*, from MS. 23, Fol. 5



FIG. 59—London, British Museum: *Massacre of the Innocents*, from Curzon MS. 153



FIG. 60—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Parable of the Vineyard*, from MS. Gr. 74, Fol. 89 v.



FIG. 61—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Parable of the Vineyard*, from MS. 24, Fol. 123 v.



FIG. 62—Sucevitza, Monastery: *Parable of the Vineyard*, from MS. 23, Fol. 136

in its main lines the Byzantine tradition, do not exclude other influences, such as the Western. Moreover, they do not confine themselves to the copying of models from other countries, but they create new forms.

These two Tetraevangelia reveal also how widely the cycle of paintings of Paris 74 was spread in Roumania and in the other Balkan states. It is interesting and rather strange to observe that all the richly illuminated Gospels which have been found in these countries are related to Paris 74 and not one of them has reproduced the illustration of Laur. VI, 23, the representative of the Constantinopolitan-Alexandrian redaction.

The illustration of the Wallachian Gospel (Sucev. 23) would not of itself prove that the cycle of Paris 74 was well known in Roumania, for it might be merely due to the fact that the Gospel of John Alexander (Curzon 153), used as a model, happened to be carried to this country after the conquest of Bulgaria by the Turks. But other manuscripts similarly illustrated could be found in this country, since the artist who painted the Gospel for Jeremiah Movila (Sucev. 24) did not copy the Wallachian manuscript (Sucev. 23), brought over to Moldavia by this prince, but another Tetraevangelia, containing the same cycle of miniatures, though belonging to a branch other than the group formed by the Wallachian manuscript and Curzon 153.

Where did these models come from? Paris 74 was written and illuminated in Constantinople, most probably in the famous monastery of St. John of Studium.⁹⁹ The prototype of Curzon 153 and Sucev. 23 came from the capital. It is more difficult to determine the place of origin of the variant which served as a model for the Elisavetgrad and the Moldavian Gospels. There does not seem to be any connection between this variant and the prototype of the Georgian Gospels which we mentioned at the beginning of the present study. The latter is an independent variant of Paris 74, while the former is very closely related to Paris 74. This prototype may have been another copy done in the same monastery at Constantinople. This need not seem exceptional since we know of at least one such occurrence; the two illustrated manuscripts of the Homilies of Jacobus Monachus of Kokkinobaphus, composed in honor of the Virgin, which are now one in the Vatican Library (gr. 1162), the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale (gr. 1208), are contemporaneous and were both done at the same monastery. But, on the other hand, the variant in question may have been copied from the model of Paris 74 before it was carried to Constantinople, for the prototype of Paris 74 appears to have come from the Palestinian region. The model of the Elisavetgrad Gospel may have followed the same route as the prototype of the Georgian manuscripts, that is, may have passed by Cappadocia.¹⁰⁰

Unfortunately, we have so far found no clue to the solving of this problem, a solution which would not only throw more light on the origin of the illustration of Paris 74, but would, in some small measure, contribute toward an answer to the famous question: "The East or Byzantium?" It is not yet clear to what extent the Balkans received their models from Byzantium or from Palestine and the East in general, in other words, how far the capital contributed directly to the artistic development of the Slavs. Some scholars, such as Strzygowski, ascribe a more important rôle to the East. In his study on the Serbian Psalter of Munich, for instance, he advances the theory that this manuscript is a copy of a very old Syrian original. His conclusion has not been accepted by other scholars,

99. G. Millet, *Recherches* . . . , pp. 590 f.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 589.

who see in some compositions ascribed by him to the East iconographical types common to the art of the fourteenth century in the Byzantine empire. It is beyond doubt that Byzantium, which at the time of the formation of the Balkan states had already come to its full artistic development, had a great influence on their art, but nevertheless one discovers in the art of the Balkans many features which seem to come directly from the East. The popularity of the Antiochene redaction of the evangelical cycle, proved by the existence of these four Slavonic copies of Paris 74, might be considered as indicative of an Oriental influence.

REVIEWS

EAST CHRISTIAN ART. By O. M. Dalton. XV, 396 pp.; 70 pls. New York, Oxford University Press, 1925.

This volume by the author of *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (1911) is, as its preface states, an attempt to bring up to date the former volume by the inclusion of the material made available in the period intervening between the dates of publication of the two books; and it includes as well a long chapter on East Christian architecture (159 pp.), which subject was omitted from the previous survey. This chapter states the more recent theory concerning the origin of Byzantine architecture, and its evolution to the fourteenth century; it is useful as an outline classification of periods and monuments, and provides an excellent select bibliography in the footnotes. The principal new material consists of the theories advanced in some of Strzygowski's later works, such as *Altai-Iran*, *Baukunst der Armenier*, and the *Origins of Christian Church Art*, with the somewhat slender archaeological material that he assembled in support of these theories. Strzygowski's hypothesis of the profound influence exerted upon the Nearer East, the Mediterranean, and even Western Europe, as regards architecture and decorative art, by a putative interaction of the nomadic cultures of the Saka and the Turki, and the resulting streams of influence that issued from the "Altai-Iran corner," is not acceptable to Dalton, who is troubled like most of us by the late date of the monuments cited in support of an architectural evolution which is supposed to have commenced at least as early as the second century B. C., and cannot see why non-representational ornament should have originated solely with nomadic peoples. The sane and urbane critique of Strzygowski's theories, which occupies many pages of the book, is perhaps its most valuable contribution.

Two other writers have produced works in the interval between the publication of *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* and that of the present book, namely, Wulff and Millet, and Dalton's volume shows their influence on every page devoted to the early phases of East Christian Art. Wulff's *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst* might be described as a highly subjective integration of the scattered theories and suggestions made by Strzygowski in his earlier period, before he had pitched his tent, so to speak, on the Iranian plateau. It was the merit of Strzygowski that he destroyed the Roma-centric view of the origins of Christian art, and made clear the importance of the Hellenistic tradition of the eastern portion of the empire in the initial stages thereof. Arguing from architecture and ornament, Strzygowski very justly emphasized the importance of Asia Minor and Syria, with growing insistence on the latter, but eventually fell into the error of inferring from architecture and ornament the existence of a creative school of representative art in Syria and specifically at Antioch, to which he by intimation more than by statement attached a directing rôle in the formation of Early Christian iconography and style. In Wulff's book these

intimations have become organized into archaeological certainties, so that the uninformed reader is left with the impression that nothing is more certain than the existence and transcendent importance of the Antiochene school of sculpture and painting in the early centuries of the Middle Ages. Alexandria is thrown out of focus, and the great majority of unattached Early Christian monuments, such as ivory carvings, are assigned to the "school of Antioch" on internal criteria of wholly subjective creation, and with a waiver of evidence and absence of method that would appear incredible to workers in any other field. The first volume of Wulff's work has done yeoman disservice in confusing the issues of Early Christian archaeology, and in undermining its claim to scientific seriousness.

Millet's *Etudes sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile* is a brilliant, though very closely reasoned, reconstruction of the tradition of the illustration of the Gospel text as handed down through the manuscripts. He arrives at the conclusion that the original illustration of the Gospel, so far as it can be traced to its origins, appeared in two editions, one of which he calls the edition of Alexandria-Constantinople, and the other of Antioch. Millet is a specialist in Middle and Late Byzantine art and iconography, and is inclined, when treating the late antique and the early period of Christian art, to lean rather heavily on authority. The authority in the latter case was Wulff, and it is largely in the dubious accumulation of monuments out of which Wulff imagined his "school of Antioch" that Millet has found the confirmatory parallels for his "*redaction d'Antioche*." His findings in turn have been seized upon as new data for the "school," which has been given even more definition as to its peculiarities of style by the recent writings of Bréhier and Diehl, largely on the basis of the silver objects which have begun to appear on the antiquity market as finds in the vicinity of Antioch, since the new "school of Antioch" has had time to achieve a semi-general acceptance. One of these objects is the more than doubtful "Great Chalice of Antioch." The convenient appearance of this and other objects of the sort to fill the aching void left by the absence, hitherto, of anything that could be with archaeological certainty attributed to Antioch, has aroused some suspicion, notably in the breast of Mgr. Wilpert, who published his view of the authenticity of these objects in the last number of *The Art Bulletin*.

The adoption by Millet of Wulff's unfounded hypothesis of the "school of Antioch," and the subsequent use of Millet's "*redaction d'Antioche*" to confirm Wulff, have opened the possibility of a vicious circle, and Dalton's book, so far as it deals with the origins of Christian art, has made the circle complete. He credits Alexandria with more importance in the Early Christian evolution than does Wulff, but his complete acceptance of the "school" is shown in the extraordinary qualities that he ascribes to the "Aramaean (Antiochene)" style. Its artists are "realists;" they "bring the scene before the eye with

astounding vividness." Possessed of a "lively dramatic sense," nevertheless, "a perfect consistency of method was impossible to this art. The almost fierce interest of the Aramaean in personality and the destiny of the individual soul led him to retain modeling in the face through which personality is expressed. . . . But . . . [the body's] organic structure and proportion had small interest for him; in consequence, his draperies are not considered in relation to anatomy, and their folds almost resemble the elements of a pattern." So far as it applies to the works of Early Christian art in which an Oriental strain can be traced—and it is mainly these which illustrate the statements quoted—this apotheosis of the style seems to me wholly exaggerated. The artists of such works were not positively Oriental so much as they were negatively un-Hellenic; instead of representing an action or an incident, they were yielding to a primitive tendency to tell a story. The same relapse into description and narration instead of Greek representation can be seen in Latin art as well, in increasing measure from the second century on. Their "drama" and "realism" are hardly more than the increased detail of an unartistic narrator. The attribution of creative and original character to this undermining of Hellenic power of representation has led the author to consider "vertical projection" (a quite natural result of the descriptive mode) as the "contribution" of the "Aramaean"; it however appears in Latin art, as a parallel phenomenon of the decay of Hellenistic unity, as early as the Column of Trajan. The real contribution of the Orient to Christian art seems to me to have been the promoting of interior space in architecture, and color in relief and painting, from the ancillary position that they held in Hellenistic style (as "adjective" to form, is the way March Phillips puts it) to a position of predominance over form. No one will deny the new emotional values thus gained in architecture and in painting; in the latter, especially, the new harmony and delicacy of tones make Hellenistic painting look raw. Nor will anyone refuse to grant the revolution of ornament that ensues from the same Orientalizing of Hellenistic style. But to credit with "dramatic force" and "realism" a factor whose chief function was the abstraction of nature is to do violence to the logic both of the principles and facts of art history.

The book amounts, aside from the chapter on architecture, to an exposition of the peculiarities of the "school," its wide influence on art of the Early Christian period, and its lasting effects not only on the later phases of Byzantine, but the Romanesque of Western Europe. Thus "much of" the sarcophagus sculpture of Ravenna bears "the sign-manual of Antioch," and we also find listed as Syrian work the well-known column drum of Constantinople with "Christian subjects framed in vine-foliage" ("typically Syrian in . . . treatment"), the ciborium columns of St. Marks, and the fourth century sculptures of the Arch of Constantine. The same school seems according to the author to have initiated Christian ivory carving, since "the earliest Christian ivories may be claimed for Antioch," and we actually find him listing as Syrian works such basic pieces as the book-covers of Milan cathedral, the pyxis of Bobbio, the pyxis of Berlin with the Sacrifice of Isaac and Christ with the Apostles, and the reliquary of Brescia, albeit it would be difficult to find in Early Christian art two pieces of such opposite style as the last two

mentioned. The wooden doors of S. Sabina at Rome, and those of S. Ambrogio in Milan are placed in the same category, on very slender evidence in the case of the first, and no evidence at all in the case of the second. The two gold medallions with scenes from the life of Christ in the Morgan and Von Gans collections are likewise assigned to the "school," in spite of their iconography, which is Egyptian in character. The early silver relic boxes (from Carthage, from the Sancta Sanctorum, and from Brivio) "are considered Syrian," though no evidence of serious character has ever been advanced to support the attribution. The "iconography (of the mosaics of the Baptistery at Naples) is Syro-Palestinian," in spite of the Alexandrian connections of the scene of the Miracle at Cana—and so on.

I have mentioned casually the lack of evidence for Syrian origin in the case of some of the above list of monuments; for the works of stone sculpture it may be added that while there is reason to think that many of the sarcophagi of Ravenna are of Eastern workmanship, there is nothing at all to connect them specifically with Antioch or even with Syria; the same is true of the column drum of Constantinople and the ciborium columns of St. Mark's; the connection of the sculptures of the Arch of Constantine is pure hypothesis. Of the four ivories mentioned, there is no real evidence for, and a good deal against, a Syrian attribution for the Milan book-covers, the Bobbio pyxis, and the reliquary of Brescia; as for the Berlin pyxis, the only serious study that has been devoted to it (by Mrs. Alison Smith Macdonald) arrived at the conclusion that it was of Alexandrian workmanship, the principal evidence being the very feature (the altar in the Sacrifice of Isaac) that Dalton cites to support the Syrian provenance.

When we pass to the "Oriental influence" on Western art, this looseness of attribution becomes even more marked. The miniatures of the Codex Purpureus of Munich, for example, "are also the work of an Italian artist reproducing subjects from an early East Christian book." Iconographically, this statement is incredible; where in East Christian manuscripts would the copyist (who was more probably of Gaul than of Italy) find a beardless Peter, the "smashing type" of the Massacre of the Innocents, or Thomas on the left of Christ in the incredulity? The same statement is made concerning the Cambridge Gospels, although in all its twenty-four scenes there is but *one* imperfect parallel with an undoubted example of East Christian illumination, namely, the Codex Rossanensis, *two* with scenes on the Passion Diptych of Milan, while the other scenes are either unique or paralleled only in Carolingian and Ottonian iconography. Even these overstatements of the dependence of Latin art on the East hardly prepare us for such misconceptions as the derivation of the "tympana of Vézelay and Moissac . . . from (Byzantine) mosaic or mural painting." We are told of the Farfa Bible that it is an important link in the "chain of evidence connecting the art of Syria-Palestine in the First Period with that of Italy in the advanced Middle Ages. As Millet says, after examining the Farfa Bible we are no longer surprised to discover East Christian iconography, and even technique, in the work of miniaturists of the thirteenth century at Bologna, Verona, and above all, at Siena." Dalton was apparently not acquainted with Neuss' *Katalanische Bibel-illustration*, in which it is shown

that the Farfa Bible was illuminated in the monastery of S. Maria de Ripoll in Catalonia.

Apropos of the Ravenna mosaics, we hear of "the Syrian type of the long-haired youthful Christ." I suppose Dalton has in mind in making this extraordinary statement the beardless type with long hair falling on the shoulders which is used on the Brescia reliquary, assigned by him to the Syrian "school," but with no evidence. The type appears on the Berlin fragment of the latest in the series of the Asiatic sarcophagi, which, if of uncertain provenance in their later phases, were certainly not made by Syrians. It appears again on the sarcophagi found in Italy and Gaul, of the fourth century; some of these may be of Eastern workmanship, but again there is no reason that compels us to call that workmanship Syrian. The only distinctive Syrian type of Christ that has any evidence back of it is the exceptional bearded type used in the marginal scenes of the Gospel of Rabula. Even the dubious "Great Chalice of Antioch," on which the two figures of the seated Christ have been hailed as "Antiochene" presentments of the Saviour, represent him after the Alexandrian mode as beardless with short hair.

Ten pages after the statement quoted above, the description of the mosaics of S. Sophia at Salonika tells us that "Our Lord is of the Syrian type seen in the Gospels of Rossano and the Sinope fragment"—wherein we learn (perhaps for convenience in attribution to the "school") that the Syrian type is on the other hand long-haired and bearded!

The manner in which the point of view represented by Dalton's book eliminates Latin art from the early Middle Ages may be seen from the treatment of two basic monuments, the Quedlinburg Itala and the Utrecht Psalter. Of the former we read: "it is by chance that this series of miniatures is accompanied by a Latin text; the prototype must have been Greek and produced in Alexandria." Why? There is nothing that has so far been ascribed to Alexandria in late antique or early mediaeval art that affords a parallel for these miniatures, save possibly the Iliad illustrations in the Ambrosiana, and these certainly do not approach the Quedlinburg miniatures nearly so closely as do the pictures of the smaller Vatican Vergil. It is a fair hypothesis that Early Christian iconography of the Old Testament, especially as regards the illustration of texts, had its origin in Alexandria, but the style of these miniatures shows the same divergence in a Latin sense from that of the Iliad miniatures or the Joshua Roll which is visible in the unmistakably Latin Vergil of the Vatican.

The same hasty classification in the interests of pure hypothesis is found in the following excerpts from the notice of the Utrecht Psalter: "written and illuminated near Reims in the early ninth century, probably by an Anglo-Saxon . . . the prototype must have been Hellenistic, dating from the fourth or fifth century . . . typical Greek personifications . . . and these, like the groups of warriors, especially recall the Joshua Roll; the curious machine used for casting lots in the Hippodrome at Constantinople serves to illustrate the passage in Psalm XXI. . . ." From this we are meant to infer that the Psalter's style is really Eastern Hellenistic. But the "typical Greek" personifications find their parallels in Latin quite as well as in Greek art and the groups of warriors also. To use the lot machine as an argument is to assume that

there was no other like it in the Roman world. Some useful work has been done on the Utrecht Psalter by Stohlman and Kraeling, and further light on the origin of its style is being obtained by Miss Woodruff's investigations on the Prudentius manuscripts. These studies are unfortunately not yet published, but this much of their results may be stated: comparison of the illustrations with all possible textual sources indicates that the archetype used the Old Latin version and the commentary of Ambrose thereon, and the Utrecht Psalter belongs to the same group as one of the Carolingian archetypes of the Prudentius manuscripts, the illustrations of which were certainly not invented by Greeks. How would Dalton explain the Western "globe-mandorla," characteristic attribute of the Logos in the Psalter, on the theory that the iconography is copied from a Greek original?

We are told, to continue examples of hasty generalization regarding the dependence of Latin art on the East, that the figures of evangelists and other subjects in Irish illuminated manuscripts "can only have come from the Christian East." We must await the exhaustive study of the portraiture of the evangelists that is under preparation by A. M. Friend, and is to be published in *Art Studies* of 1927, before a final criticism of this statement can be made, but I know enough of Mr. Friend's results to say with confidence that the Irish type of evangelist originated in Latin texts.

To return to the *fons et origo mali*, the "Syrian school": "Cappadocian iconography was originally introduced by Aramaean influences, and is therefore only Aramaean (Syrian) iconography at second remove." The miniatures of the Codex Rosanensis, "derive from a Syro-Palestinian redaction to which are due new iconographical features, seen for the first time in this book; such is the scene of Our Lord distributing the bread and wine to the apostles." These two statements are quoted together because they seem to the reviewer to invert the true state of the case. It is well to remember at this point something completely lost to view in the elaborate fabrication of the "school" which has gone on during the past two decades, the rarity of actual monuments of certain Syro-Palestinian provenance. Aside from the dubious "Great Chalice of Antioch," there is nothing that can be definitely attributed to that city. As for Syria-Palestine in general, if we omit the recent silver finds as still somewhat *sub judice*, we have Choricus' description of the mosaics of St. Sergius' at Gaza of the sixth century, the pilasters from Acre in the piazzetta of St. Mark's, the façade of Mschatta, the nave mosaics of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the miniatures of the Rabula Gospel at Florence, and the ampullae of Monza type. Choricus' description is too brief and rhetorical to afford very certain criteria of style or even of iconography; the next three items are guides only for ornament style and of these the last two are still uncertain as to date. The only monuments, then, on which reliance can be placed as examples of the figure style and iconography of Syria-Palestine, are the ampullae of Monza type and the miniatures of the Gospel of Rabula. Recent writing would add to these the paintings on the cover of the relic box from the Sancta Sanctorum, now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library, as of certain Palestinian provenance, and Mr. E. S. King will shortly publish a class of reliquary crosses that come from the same source.

The silver bracelets discovered in Egypt, with subjects corresponding to those of the ampullae of Monza, may also be added to the Palestinian group. It is from the halting craftsmanship and inarticulate style of this set of monuments only, that we can draw certain conclusions regarding the Syro-Palestinian style and iconography, and test its "dramatic realism."

It became clear to me, in a study of the paintings on the cover of the relic box from the Sancta Sanctorum (and I believe that Mr. King came to a similar conclusion with reference to the Crucifixion on his cross reliquaries), that the microscopic reliefs of the ampullae were derived from panel paintings of the type of those on the cover of the relic box, and that these in turn, together with the miniatures of the Gospel of Rabula, are clearly dependent on Greek models of the type of the miniatures of the Codex Rossanensis. There is good reason to connect the Rossanensis and the other manuscripts of its group with Cappadocia, and it is at least certain that the frescoes of Cappadocia have a closer connection both in style and iconography with the Rossanensis cycle than with any of the Syro-Palestinian monuments listed above. In other words, there is good evidence for the existence of an Early Christian school of some importance in Cappadocia, on which the little group of monuments that can be certainly assigned to Syria-Palestine depends as a provincial offshoot, and which certainly cannot be regarded in the light of the evidence at hand, as showing the reversed relation. The source of the Cappadocian style and iconography is rather to be sought in the Greek centers further west. The fictitious character of the "Syrian school" as it appears in the pages of Dalton and Wulfi is summed up in a significant statement in the book in question, wherein Dalton says of the Cappadocian frescoes that they "must descend from an earlier Syrian wall-painting which has not survived in its own country."

Many of the attributions to the "Syrian school" which I have discussed above are made by the author with hesitation and reserve, wherein one finds the candor which always characterizes the work of Dalton. It is in fact the very honesty of the book that makes it so revealing an index to the demoralization of method in the field of Early Christian archaeology at the present moment. One feels throughout the book the very great competence of the author in his field; one misses continually the expression of his own uninfluenced judgment. When this is given, with characteristic modesty and courtesy, it is invariably sound, as when he discerns the insufficient knowledge of style in MacLagan's recent attempts to add to the list of Early Christian ivories, and divines, against Diehl, Grisar, and Lauer, the correct date of the paintings on the cover of the relic box from the Sancta Sanctorum.

C. R. Morey

DIE HOLZTÜR DER PFARRKIRCHE ZU ST. MARIA IM KAPITOL. By Richard Hamann. 4 to.; 31 pp.; 45 pls. Marburg a. L., Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Universität Marburg, 1926.

Dr. Richard Hamann, director of the Kunstgeschichtliche Seminar at Marburg a. L., needs no introduction to students of mediaeval art. Even those who have not visited his admirably equipped seminar have at least

heard of the unique collection of photographs which he has brought together in the university at Marburg. For years Dr. Hamann has studied the problem of light in relation to three-dimensional composition and has personally made thousands of negatives of Romanesque and Gothic sculpture. Much of this material, unfortunately, is unpublished and is inaccessible to scholars who live outside of Germany. The importance of Dr. Hamann's work, however, has been clearly demonstrated by his recent volume on the wooden doors of St. Maria im Kapitol at Cologne. The book has been issued, as the annual monograph, to members of the Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, a society founded by Dr. Bode and others for the promotion of German scholarship.

The doors of St. Maria im Kapitol are among the most precious documents of North German art in a period when monumental works are almost entirely nonexistent. The doors are of wood (7 feet, 4 inches wide by 15 feet, 5 inches high) and hang in two valves. Each valve contains thirteen panels; three are oblong and fill the width, and ten, of half the size, are vertical. The panels are surrounded by an ornamental border with decorative bosses at the intersections. A foliate border in high relief, somewhat reminiscent of that found on the door of S. Sabina at Rome, frames the composition. Within the small panels are depicted scenes from the life of Christ. The Gospel scenes begin in the upper panel of the left valve with the Annunciation and Visitation (pls. II, III), and the Presentation in the Temple and the Baptism appear at the bottom (pls. XVII-XX). The cycle of the Passion opens with the Entry into Jerusalem in the upper panel of the right valve (pls. XXII-XXIII) and closes with the Pentacost (pl. XLI). Across the bottom panels of the doors are standing figures of the apostles.

There is nothing new about the composition. Similar arrangements had already been employed on the bronze doors at Augsburg and at Hildesheim, on the wooden doors of S. Ambrogio, Milan, and on the cypress doors of S. Sabina at Rome. Some of the details might be clearer if the original colors were preserved, but the cleverness with which a scene is fitted into the intended field, and the liveliness with which the story is told, although confined to a small space, are unusual. The decorative ornament which surrounds each panel is not found on other German doors, but similar rich borders appear on the bronze doors of S. Zeno, Verona, and on the doors executed by Barisanus at Trani, Ravello, and Monreale.

The figures on the Cologne doors are executed with unusual simplicity and possess a monumental character which is highly successful in such small scenes and in this material. The small stature, with large heads and hands and flapper feet, recalls the Lombard style of northern Italy. Although the heads lack the delicacy of modeling found on the Liège font of Regnier de Huy and the Bernard column, the gestures of the Cologne figures are unusually expressive. The animals are rendered with great skill and show a careful study of nature. The gait of the ass in the scenes of the Flight into Egypt and the Entry into Jerusalem is extraordinarily realistic and life-like. The drapery style follows the plastic form of antique models and conforms to the tradition current in East Frankish schools of illumination from the time of Charlemagne.

From an analysis of the individual scenes Dr. Hamann concludes that the Cologne doors are the work of at least two different artists. The first artist possesses a lighter touch and renders the figures with delicacy and a feeling for form. The second artist works in a more monumental manner, with less feeling for the material but with a greater sense of composition; he renders large forms and compact groups, and the figures have more weight and dignity than those of the first artist. From the point of view of quality the scenes on the right valve of the door are carved better than those on the left. By comparisons with the antependium at Aachen, of the end of the tenth century, which is Rhenish or Belgian work, and with a series of ivory reliefs which Goldschmidt localizes in this region, Dr. Hamann concludes that the doors were executed by Cologne artists.

The date of the doors has been placed variously by different critics between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The latest date was accepted by Marignan, and the authors of the *Kunsdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz* (VII, 1, *Stadt Köln*) placed it in the second half of the twelfth century. There is no documentary evidence regarding the construction of the doors, but the church for which they were made was rebuilt during the eleventh century and two consecration dates (1049 and 1065) are preserved. The triapsidal choir and the transept, where these doors now hang, were not completed until the twelfth century, but this evidence is untrustworthy, since the doors may easily have been removed from their original position and incorporated in the rebuilt portion. Hamann agrees that the monumental character of the right valve at first suggests the style of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, but a stylistic comparison with other North German monuments, such as the bronze doors of Augsburg (c. 1065) and the doors of Hildesheim (1008-1015), leads him to believe that the Cologne doors were executed during the first half of the eleventh century, a date which is fairly close to those offered by J. Tavenor Perry, Adolph Goldschmidt (c. 1160), Beenken (c. 1065), and Wera von Blankenburg.

It is unfortunate that the title of this volume is not clear. The author assumes that the general reader knows that St. Maria im Kapitol is in Cologne, but this assumption is unwarranted and the name of Cologne should have been included in the title on the outside cover of the book as well as in the introductory paragraph. Many a foreign student will read the text from beginning to end and wonder whether the church on which these doors hang is in the Rhine region, in Prussia, or in Bavaria!

It would also have added much to the usefulness of the work if the author had printed captions of the subjects at the bottoms of the plates. As it is, the average reader is forced to turn to the text for the subjects and in many cases the description of the scenes is too detailed. The reader's patience is tried beyond measure by the psychological analysis of the composition and the minute discussion of figure style and drapery folds. Much of the description is quite superfluous in view of the splendid collection of plates at the end of the volume. It would have been much more to the point if the author had indicated the iconographic peculiarities in each scene. Many of the subjects present interesting iconographic problems and it would have been of great interest to

mediaeval students if Dr. Hamann had pointed out how the artist follows now Hellenistic and now Eastern models, and why this particular combination existed in the eleventh century school of Cologne. Dr. Hamann excuses himself on the ground that this part of the discussion, as well as the stylistic analogies to the contemporary German manuscript style, is to be found in the volume by Wera von Walkenburg.

It also might have been well in such a work as this, which is intended to be a final monograph on the subject, to have included all of the more recent bibliography. The list of publications on page 28 might well have mentioned the short article in English by J. Tavenor Perry, *The Wooden Doors of S. Mary in the Capitol, Cologne*, in *The Burlington Magazine* (February, 1915, XXVI, pp. 202-208), and the volume by Marignan, *Études sur l'histoire de l'art allemande*, Leipzig, 1913.

Such omissions, however, can be readily overlooked when the author places before us such a beautiful set of plates. Unfavorable conditions of light in the porch in which these doors hang made the photography of single fields a difficult task, but the resourceful author has reproduced many of the subjects from different angles; they appear in profile and three-quarters view as well as in full front view. Such illustrations, which show every detail of modeling, make it possible to study this interesting eleventh century monument more easily at home than in the city of Cologne.

Walter W. S. Cook

CATALOGUE OF A LOAN EXHIBITION OF GOTHIC TAPESTRIES. By Phyllis Ackerman. 55 pp.; 21 illustrations. Chicago, The Arts Club, December, 1926.

Although appreciated as decoration, the importance of Gothic tapestries in relation to the history of Northern art has never been fully realized. In the introduction to her catalogue of the exhibition recently held at the Chicago Arts Club, Dr. Ackerman sketches the aesthetic significance of the weaves of this period and establishes the basis for subsequent research by the presentation of an outline of the development of the schools and by the formulation of a method of identifying the designers of the tapestries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Two factors in the history of the art may account for the tardy appreciation of the real character of the tapestries of the Gothic period. The superior prestige of painting and the subservience of tapestry to that art, which definitely began with Raphael's cartoons for the Acts of the Apostles, has obscured the period when weaving was not the servant of painting and when its aesthetic and technical problems were understood by designers worthy of the name. Moreover, even scholars have approached the history of Gothic tapestry as that of an industry rather than an art. Because of the preoccupation with the problem of the centers of production, attributions have been based on the character and style of the weave, leaving the consideration of the painter of the cartoons practically untouched.

Up to the present time the names of only two designers, the one of the Apocalypse series at Angers and the other of the Life of the Virgin at Beaune, have been known from documentary sources, while attempts have been made to identify the work of the designer known as Maître Philippe

and the famous Jean van Roome. The whole name of the first and a plausible identification of the personality of the second are not yet clear. If this is to be regarded as the fruit of years of research, it is with amazement that we realize that Dr. Ackerman presents an outline of the style and development of six schools of Gothic tapestry and the identification of most of the members, including more than forty painters. The catalogue offers examples of the work of four schools—many of them being illustrations of pieces heretofore unpublished. Of the two schools omitted, Dr. Ackerman explains that no examples of the one were available, and the work of the other (that of Maître Philippe) was too well known to need explanation.

The method pursued in establishing the schools and in identifying the designers combines research into the guild records of various towns; the recognition of names formed by letters woven into banners and trimmings of garments, of which the orthography seems to the uninitiated well-nigh impossible and almost invariably offers many chances of error; and, lastly, the stylistic comparison of all the known pieces of Gothic tapestry that have come down to us.

Dr. Göbel, in his review of Dr. Ackerman's catalogue which appeared in *Cicerone* January, remarks that this method of approaching the problem is not new and that hitherto the results have not been convincing; moreover, that the pieces assigned to any one school in the catalogue do not bear sufficiently close stylistic relation to warrant Dr. Ackerman's attributions. As to Dr. Göbel's first criticism, it should be noted that heretofore the method has been employed for the identification of isolated personalities with conclusions drawn from comparative evidence that was incomplete. Dr. Ackerman offers a widespread application of a method the success of which necessarily depends on the comparison of hundreds of pieces. Her preliminary studies look toward the rebuilding of the entire history of Gothic tapestry. To be sure, one cannot judge from the scattered examples of the catalogue how successful and revolutionary her work may prove. For explanation of certain statements, Dr. Ackerman calls attention to a more extended article in *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 2, this to be followed, in turn, by a work *in extenso*, which, in consideration of the magnitude and importance of the results of her research, is necessary for appreciation and judgment of the scope of her discoveries.

Eleanor B. Saxe

DAS STUTTGARTER PASSIONALE. By Albert Boeckler. 68 pp.; 44 pls. Filser Verlag, Augsburg, 1923.

Dr. Boeckler's monograph on the three-part passionale at Stuttgart is exemplary for scholarship in the field of mediæval illumination, where, fortunately, the day of

superfluous verbiage with inadequate illustration has passed. Boeckler states his thesis concisely and supports it by good illustrations, which are easy to use because they are bound separately and laid in at the end of the book.

The passionale at Stuttgart had hitherto passed as a product of Zwiefalten dating from the second half of the twelfth century. Boeckler shows that it belongs in part to the first half of the century and attributes it to the monastery of Hirsau. For this attribution he adduces the combined and convincing evidence of three stylistic peculiarities. One is the use throughout the miniatures of architectural features resembling those of the school of Tegernsee in Bavaria. Another is the copying of the initial types of a manuscript now in Munich which had been sent from Italy to Hirsau. The third is the use of a type of initial found in an Einsiedeln manuscript at St. Gall (Hirsau was founded according to the reformed rule of Einsiedeln). As to the connection with Einsiedeln, I have found, in collecting unpublished material for my forthcoming catalogue of the illuminated manuscripts of Einsiedeln, initials dating from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that corroborate Boeckler. For example, the Einsiedeln codex no. 166 has an S on p. 6 (see the cover design of this magazine) that is almost identical with that of the Life of St. Sylvester in the passionale (Boeckler, fig. 8). The Einsiedeln initial shows a fine mesh *motif* within the bands that tie the vine to the stem like that found in the passionale (Boeckler, fig. 81). An initial D in the Einsiedeln codex no. 247, p. 392 (Fig. 1), has the same *motif* with dots between the meshes as in the Stuttgart manuscript (Boeckler, fig. 72). Another D, in the Einsiedeln codex no. 175, p. 62 (Fig. 2), may be compared with Boeckler's fig. 15. Such analogies corroborate his inference of a close relationship between the style of his manuscript and that of the scriptorium of Einsiedeln.

Ernest T. DeWald.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

NOTES

The sixteenth annual meeting of the College Art Association of America was held in conjunction with the meetings of the American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute, the Linguistic Society of America, and the Modern Language Association at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, December 27-30, 1926.

PROGRAM

MONDAY, DECEMBER 27

- 2.00 P. M. Study of the collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, under the guidance of the museum staff.
- 8.00 P. M. Meetings of the Executive Board and of various committees convened by their chairmen in the Harvard Union.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28

- 9.30 A. M. Public Meeting in Room B, Robinson Hall.
Moldavian Portrait Textiles in Needlework—Ernst Diez, Bryn Mawr College.
Recent European Movements in the Graphic Arts—George T. Plowman.
Apostolados—Dorothea C. Shipley, Bryn Mawr College.
The Adoption of the Principle of the Selective School at the University of Pennsylvania—L. F. Pilcher, University of Pennsylvania.
The Smith College Experiment in Graduate Instruction in the History and Criticism of Art—Clarence Kennedy, Smith College.
- 12.00-2.00 P. M. Luncheon at the Harvard Union as guests of Harvard University.
- 2.00 P. M. Business Meeting in Room B, Robinson Hall.
Reports of the President, the Secretary, and the Treasurer.
Reports of the committees on Standards, Research, Nominations, etc.
- 8.00 P. M. Public Meeting in Room B, Robinson Hall.
Origin of the Buddha Image—Ananda Coomaraswamy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Recent Investigations of Seljuk Architecture in Asia Minor—R. M. Riefstahl, New York University.
Explorations in Central Asia Minor, 1926—H. H. von der Osten, University of Chicago.

- 9.30 P. M. Smoker at the Harvard Union as guests of Harvard University.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

- 9.30 A. M. Public Joint Meeting with the Archaeological Institute in the Lecture Room of the Fogg Art Museum.

A Late Antique Incised Glass Bowl in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library—William Hayes, Princeton University.
The Origin of the Early Arabesque—Maurice Dimand, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

A New Puzzle at Sanguesa—A. Kinsley Porter, Harvard University.
Certain Renaissance Engravings Illustrating Apuleius' Story of Cupid and Psyche—Elizabeth H. Haight, Vassar College.

Early Spanish Panel Painting in the Plandiura Collection at Barcelona—Walter W. S. Cook, New York University.

The Influence of Cluniac Manuscripts on Monumental Paintings in the West of France—Melville F. Webber, Harvard University.

Some Unpublished Illuminations from Exultet Rolls at Troia and Bari—Myrtila Avery, Wellesley College.

- 12.00-2.00 P. M. Luncheon at the Harvard Union as guests of Harvard University.

- 2.00 P. M. Meeting at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum as guests of Arthur Pope.

- 5.00 P. M. Tea at Shady Hill, as guests of Professor and Mrs. Paul J. Sachs.

- 8.00 P. M. Joint Meeting of the Five Associations in Sanders Theater.

Addresses by President A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard University; A. H. Thorndike, Columbia University; Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University; Edward Capps, Princeton University; Leonard Bloomfield, Ohio State University; C. R. Morey, Princeton University.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30.

- 8.00 P. M. Subscription dinner of the College Art Association, the American Philological Association, and the Archaeological Institute, at the University Club, Boston.

MINUTES

The President made an informal report on the work of the year, 1926, and called attention to some of the prospective activities of 1927.

The Secretary reported the steady increase in size and distribution of *The Art Bulletin*.

Because of the long illness and enforced absence of the Treasurer, the presentation and approval of his report at this time was waived.

Miss Alice V. V. Brown, Chairman, presented the printed report of the Committee on Standards (which has already been distributed). It was voted that the general examinations with awards should be continued for three years. It was voted that the question of competitive awards in drawing and painting should be referred to the Committee on Standards, and that the giving of any such awards should for the present be left to the discretion of the President. The preparation of syllabi as an aid in undergraduate instruction was recommended. It was voted

that the revision of the list of books published in *The Art Bulletin*, III, 1, should be undertaken.

It was voted that the opposition of the Association to the restrictions on importation of books published abroad contemplated in pending copyright legislation be confirmed.

It was voted that the President should appoint a Committee on the Theory of Art.

It was voted that the President should appoint a committee to represent the Association with the International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation.

It was voted that a single ballot be cast for the officers nominated by the Committee on Nominations, namely,

President.....	John Shapley
Vice-President.....	Alfred V. Churchill
Secretary.....	James B. Munn
Treasurer.....	J. Donald Young
Directors.....	C. R. Morey
	A. Philip MacMahon